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GENUINE LETTERS

AND

MEMOIRS,

Relating to the

Natural, Civil, and Commercial

HISTORY

Of the ISLANDS of

CAPE BRETON,

AND

SAINT JOHN,

From the first settlement there, to the taking of
Louisburg by the English, in 1758.

In which, among many interesting particulars, the
causes and previous events of the present war are
explained.

By an impartial FRENCHMAN.

*Quis nescit primam esse historiarum legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat ?
Deinde ne quid veri non audeat ?* Cic. de Orat. lib. 2.

Translated from the Author's original manuscript.

LONDON,

Printed for J. Nourse in the Strand. 1760.

GENUINE LETTERS



MEMOIRS

By the Author

Epistle Dedicatory

HISTORY

WORK relating to the
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C. A. B. the four historical persons
who share the honors of the glorious
and important conduct, and on that
account I pay them this homage. It
is a matter of honor to mention their names;
as it would be to attempt their praise.
I consider by the fact, as it
gives the services they have done to the
cause and glorious events of the world, was
copied. I have engraved them in the
hearts of the people. The noble mi-
nister who formed the plan, which has
rendered England a more glorious nation
than ever, the noble minister
I learned from the Author's original manuscript.
the board of trade and plantations
LONDON
who
Printed for J. Neave in the Strand. 1753.

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Epistle Dedicatory.

A WORK relating to Cape Breton ought naturally to be offered to the four illustrious personages, who share the honour of this glorious and important conquest; and on that account I pay them this homage. It is as needless to mention their names, as it would be to attempt their panegyric: the services they have done their country, hath engraved them in the hearts of the people. The able minister who formed the plan, which has rendered England so superior to her enemies; the respectable director of the board of trade and plantations,

who had so great a hand in this noble design ; the admiral and general, who displayed such conduct and bravery in the execution, will ever command the veneration and gratitude of their countrymen, the admiration of foreign nations, and the profound respect of their most devoted, and most

humble servant, &c.

P R E.



PREFACE.

THE present state of Europe is an object too interesting to men of sound judgment, not to fix their attention. Who is it that would chuse to be ignorant of the cause and particular circumstances of events, which raise our admiration and surprize? But our curiosity, however commendable, is often disappointed. The generality of mankind are unacquainted with the internal nature of things, and viewing only their surface, are blinded by prejudice. Hence they discern the truth as it were amidst a cloud, which oftentimes makes them lose sight of it; and in its stead they embrace an airy phantom. The difficulty of making researches, increaseth this inconvenience.

People are satisfied with a superficial account of things, rather than be at the trouble of investigating the cause. The motives of an action are soon forgot, for want of reflecting on those springs which imprint them in the memory: we know no more than incidents, which we attribute to extraordinary motives, instead of the natural causes, of which we have lost sight. It would require a man of abilities and application, and withal a real cosmopolite, to write the history of a war, in which the account of sieges and battles is a matter of the least importance. Such a writer would demonstrate to us, that what we look upon as the principal object, is a consequence very natural to foresee, when once we are acquainted with the cause that was to produce it. But I am afraid it will be difficult to find a person qualified for so general a plan: we must therefore be content with the best hands we can get; with men whose character bears some resemblance to that which I have been

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been describing, and who have employed their time in giving us part of this design.

This work, of which I am only the editor, has a right to make its way in the world. It contains many details, which a friendly confidence has freed from all constraint, and in which no national prejudice obscured the truth. These are letters written from Louisbourg. They begin at the year 1752, and are continued down to the siege of that place; the particulars of which, as well as the several operations of the war previous to that event, are fully described.

We begin with a general and particular description of Cape Breton, and the utility of its productions. Then we enter into the same detail in regard to the island of St. John, the proximity of which constitutes, in some measure, an integral with Cape Breton. An account of the manners, inclinations, and prejudices of the Indians, engages our cu-

riously next; and introduces such reflexions as may be of very great use to those who shall have occasion to deal with those people.

The other letters are concerning the French government established at Louisburg. These contain some anecdotes, and an examination of the conduct of those officers. On this occasion we mention the concerns they had in trade, and the several schemes which they either had formed, or might have formed upon this subject. The inconveniencies arising from their bad constitution of government, are demonstrated in these letters. The errors of those employed in the administration are also pointed out, and the source of those troubles is unlocked. Lastly, the war which has been a natural consequence of this whole bad conduct, together with its unprosperous events in regard to the French, are related with the utmost impartiality.

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This subject, of itself so interesting, becomes still more so, as it may occasion very solid reflexions, and give rise to the most prudent resolves.

The desire I had of rendering this work as useful as possible, has unluckily been the cause of my deferring to send it abroad, before the public attention was fixed on other objects. It should have made its appearance upwards of a twelvemonth ago: but the difficulty of recovering all the letters that were necessary to complete the undertaking; together with the desire of obtaining the approbation of persons, whose high employments do not afford them much leisure for reading, have retarded the publication. However I am still time enough for those, whose station in life renders them attentive both to past and present transactions, to the end that they may be able to conduct their negotiations with success at the conclusion of the war. But whether the victors
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preserve their conquest, or the vanquished attempt to recover it, both the one and the other must be obliged to our author, for rendering them sensible of consequences equally essential to themselves and to the public, and for placing matters in their proper light.



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ERRATA.

- Page. 29. l. 6. for *proceeding* r. *proceeding*.
 141. l. 12. for *defatigable* r. *indfatigable*.
 323. l. 11. after *of* insert *them*.
 330. l. 15. for *onerous* r. *onerous*.
 352. l. 11. from the bottom before *none* insert *of*.

LET-



LETTER I.

General and particular description of Isle Royale, or Cape Breton, of the town and harbour of Louisburg.

S I R,

SINCE I cannot refuse complying with your earnest request, I intend forthwith to execute the task you have been pleased to enjoin me. I shall begin with a description of the country you are desirous of knowing, and omit nothing worthy of your curiosity.

Isle Royale, or the Royal Island, was first of all called *Isle du Cap*, or the Island of the Cape, and afterwards the *English harbour*. It is said that the name of *Cape Breton* was owing to its first discoverers, who were natives of Brittany. It was not called *Isle Royale* till the year 1713.

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The same thing might be said of this, as of several other islands, that it was a fragment of our terraqueous globe, from which it had been detached by some violent concussion ; and the revolution might be fixed to the time of the deluge. But without wasting time in such idle conjectures, let it suffice to observe, that it is of a very irregular figure, indented by numerous clefts, and stuck round, as it were with small rocks, several of which rise above the surface of the water. In short, it is covered with lakes, rivulets, and bogs.

This island lay desert and uncultivated till the year 1714, when the French of Newfoundland and Acadia, made some settlements on it. They took up their quarters near the sea-shore, where there are villages containing a few scattered houses. Each person built according to his fancy, and just as he found proper ground for drying of cod-fish, and for planting of gardens. This irregular manner of building occasions a dispersion of the inhabitants, with the inconveniencies arising from thence.

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Cape Breton and Louisburg. 3

In the year 1713, after Lewis XIV. had been so long contending with the united powers of Europe, he made an offer to Queen Anne of part of the French possessions in North America, in order to detach Great-Britain from that formidable alliance. This negotiation proved successful to France, considering the extremity to which she was reduced. The loss of Newfoundland, Hudson's bay, and Acadia, in consequence of the treaty of Utrecht, must have been the greater mortification to the French nation, as they had refused to accede to the treaty of partition, by which they would have made an acquisition of rich and fruitful provinces, without the effusion of blood.

Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, was specified in this cession, for no other reason but that the English, who were already in possession of it, should meet with no disturbance hereafter. In short, all that France could do, was to preserve the islands of Cape Breton and St. John.

Yet these had been hitherto considered

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as most barren spots, and altogether unfit for making any settlements. In summer-time they were frequented by a few fishermen, and during the winter the inhabitants of Acadia resorted thither for the sake of the fur-trade with the savages.

But necessity, the mother of invention, obliged the French to try whether they could not put these islands into such a condition, as might partly repair the great loss they had sustained. And their reason for this attempt was so much the stronger, as it was of the utmost consequence to them not to be entirely driven out of the cod-fishery. They had likewise another interest, namely, to be within a proper distance for observing the progress of the English colonies in that neighbourhood, which in time might give umbrage, or prove detrimental, to those of the French. Besides, it was incumbent upon this nation to preserve a post, which enables them to command the mouth of the river of St. Lawrence, whereby a communication is kept open with Canada or New France ;
and

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and they have also a convenient harbour for their ships in distress of weather, which in those seas is very common.

Considerations so solid, induced the court to plant the colony of Cape Breton, and to build the harbour of Louisburg. The Segnelay, a ship commanded by M. de Contreville, arrived on that island the 13th of August 1713, and took possession of it in the king's name; and then it was, as I before observed, that it received the appellation of *Isle Royale*.

This island is situated in the Atlantic ocean and gulph of St. Lawrence, about two hundred leagues from Quebec, the capital of Canada, to whose jurisdiction it belongs. It lies between the island of Newfoundland, from which it is only about fifteen leagues distant; Acadia, now called Nova Scotia; and the island of St. John. From Nova Scotia it is parted by a very narrow channel, called by the French the strait of *Fronsac*. It is in length about thirty six leagues from north-east to south-west, twenty two in its greatest breadth,

and about a hundred and five in circumference. The shore is very steep, consequently of dangerous access to mariners; and it is every where covered with small wood, of the spruce or fir kind, and with brambles. There are several harbours and bays round the island.

The chief of these, and at the same time the only town in the island, is Louisburg, situate in forty one degrees of north latitude, and sixty two degrees and a quarter of longitude, so that its meridian is four hours nine minutes west of Paris, according to the observations which M. Chaber, lieutenant of a man of war, made in the year 1750 and 1751 by order of the court of France.

The winter is very severe at Louisburg, and subject to violent squalls of wind, especially from the south. The sky is generally overcast either with heavy rains, or with thick fogs, especially in summer, which renders it difficult to be discerned at sea. The earth is covered with snow during the winter, and the frost sets in at Christmas, during which time both land
and

Cape Breton and Louisburg. 7

and water form but one solid mass. All kind of commerce is then at a stand, and the town puts on a melancholy aspect, very different from the appearance it makes in summer, when crowded with sea-faring people. Yet the air is wholesome, notwithstanding the tediousness of the winter. Properly speaking they have but two seasons, winter and autumn; but in the inland parts there are three, summer, autumn, and winter.

The surface of almost the whole country is extremely disagreeable, being nothing else but a light kind of moss and water. The great humidity of the ground is productive of continual vapours.

A circumstance that considerably adds to the horror of this season, is a kind of meteor seldom observed in other countries, and which the inhabitants distinguish by the name of *poudrierie* or *powdering*. It is a species of very fine snow, which insinuates itself into every hole and corner, and even into the minutest crevices. It does not seem to fall upon the ground,

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but to be carried away horizontally by the violence of the wind, so that great heaps of it lie against the walls and eminences; and as it hinders a person from distinguishing even the nighest objects, or to open his eyes for fear of being hurt, the consequence is, that he can hardly see his way. It even takes away one's breath. From thence we may judge of the many inconveniencies in this country, besides the excessive cold. Should any one be surprized at the vast difference in this respect between this island and the greatest part of North America, and even those places which are of the same latitude on the opposite continent, his wonder will cease upon taking a general survey of this part of America. Being quite uncultivated, and almost uninhabited, it is covered on the one hand with frozen lakes during the space of several months; and on the other, the woods are so thick as not to admit the rays of the sun. In particular it may be observed with regard to Cape Breton, that independently of the lakes with which it

Cape Breton and Louisburg. 9

is partly covered, the middle of it contains a considerable arm or inlet of the sea, which is oftentimes intirely frozen up, and the cold diffuses itself immediately from thence over the whole island.

The sea frequently stands still in the harbour of Louisburg, and it is generally half an hour, and sometimes a whole hour, in the same state.

The French did not begin to fortify Louisburg till the year 1720. This town is built on a neck of land which juts out into the sea, south-east of the island: it is of an oblong figure, and about half a league in circumference. The streets are wide and regular, and near the principal fort or citadel there is a handsome parade. To the north side of the town there are three gates, and a spacious quay. They have likewise constructed a kind of bridges, called in the French language *calles*, which project considerably into the sea, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading of goods. The fortifications consist of two bastions, called the

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the King and Queen's; and two demi-bastions, distinguished by the names of the Dauphin and the Princess. These two out-works, which were constructed towards the end of last year, are commanded by several eminences.

There is one general defect in all these fortifications, that the sand, of which they make their mortar, is not at all proper for mason's work. The revetements of the different curtains are intirely mouldered away; and there is only one casemate, proof against bombs of a middling size, with a very small magazine.

This is the more surprizing, as they have all the reason in the world to expect a war with England, considering the hostilities already committed on both sides. But whether it be owing to the negligence of those whose province it is to provide for the security of the place, or whether they depend on the strength of the garrison, I am afraid that the bravery of the enemy will make them repent either their imprudence or their presumption.

The

Cape Breton and Louisburg. 11

The houses in Louisburg are almost all of wood. The stone ones have been built at the king's expence, and are designed for the accommodation of the troops and the officers. When the English were masters of the town in 1745, they erected very considerable caserns. The French were obliged to transport all the materials of the stone-buildings, as well as of their other works, from Europe.

There is hardly a settlement that has been attended with greater expence to the French nation than this of Louisburg. It is certain that they have laid out above thirty millions of livres, though the place does not seem to have been productive of any great advantage: yet, so cogent were the motives which induced them to put this scheme into execution, that the reservation of Louisburg will be always considered as an object of too great importance not to sacrifice every thing to it.

Cape Breton protects the whole French trade of North America, and is of equal consequence in regard to their commerce in

in the West-Indies. If they had no settlement in this part of the north, their vessels returning from St. Domingo or Martinico, would no longer be safe on the great bank of Newfoundland, particularly in time of war. Lastly, as it is situated at the entrance of the gulph of St. Lawrence, it absolutely commands the river of that name.

The entrance of the harbour of Louisbourg is defended by a battery, level with the surface of the water. It is planted opposite the light-house on the other side of the *grande terre*; and consists of thirty six pieces of cannon, all of them four and twenty pounders. The harbour is also defended by a cavalier called by the name of *Maurepas*, which has twelve embrasures.

The royal battery, situate at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town, is mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, eight and twenty of which are thirty six pounders, and two are eighteen pounders. It commands the sea, the town, and the bottom of the bay.

The port of Louisbourg is at least a league

Cape Breton and Louisburg. 13

league in length, and upwards of a quarter of a league at its smallest breadth. There is very good holding ground, and generally from six to ten fathoms water. They have a very safe and convenient place to careen their ships, where they may be laid up in the winter, only taking proper precautions against the ice. The harbour begins to be frozen in the month of November, and is not open again till May, and oftentimes till June.

I have already taken notice that the inner part of the island is covered with lakes, rivers, brooks, and morasses. The tide runs up most of the rivers. Among the rest, the great *Bras-d'or*, or *Golden arm*, penetrates it in such a manner, that the isthmus between it and Port Tolouse, is not above three hundred and fifty fathoms.

The country is extremely mountainous, and full of morasses, in general abounding with various sorts of stone, and parget, and in some places with sea-coal.

Before any settlements were made on this island, it was all over covered with wood.

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wood. There is but very little oak; but other sorts of timber are exceeding common. On the top of some of the white firs, there grows a kind of mushroom, by the inhabitants called *garigue*, which the savages use with very great success against pains in the breast, and dysenteries. They have four sorts of fir-trees. The first is like ours; the other three are the white and red thorn, and the *spruce*; the second and the fourth grow to a great height, and make excellent masts, especially the white thorn, which is likewise good timber. The bark is smooth and glossy, and produceth small protuberances of the bigness of a kidney bean, which contain a kind of turpentine of excellent service for healing all sorts of wounds, and even for fractures. It is also said to be a specific against the fever, as well as the several disorders of the stomach and breast. The method of using it is to infuse two drops into a little broth. It is likewise a cathartic. At Paris they call it the *white balm*.

The spruce-fir is of the resinous kind, but

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but does not produce a sufficient quantity for general use. The wood is very durable, and therefore proper for palisades and inclosures. The bark is of excellent use for tanners; and the savages make a tincture of it, that borders very much on a deep blue.

This island also abounds with maple, beech, birch, and aspen trees, besides other sorts of wood proper for firing.

Hitherto they have been able to reap no sort of grain; but they have a vast deal of meadow-lands in some parts of the woods, on mossy grounds, and on the banks of rivers, which produce excellent pasture. The king is therefore obliged to maintain one part of the inhabitants, whilst the others subsist by the fishery; and there are very few of them that can be reckoned worth money.

In some places they have begun to sow wheat and rice; but never could bring them to proper maturity. I believe that oats would grow here, if the small quantity the island is able to produce, was worth sowing. It has been even observed that
the

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the grain sown in this country, degenerates the second year. There are several sorts of legumes which agree with the soil, but the seed must be had from Europe, or from New-England. Cabbage, lettuce, and different kinds of pulse, thrive here as well as in France, though they are not altogether so forward. They have no manner of fruit except raspberries in the woods, with strawberries and blue-bottles in the plains. The latter are as big as gooseberries; and may be had till the month of October. They have likewise a small red fruit of the bigness of a cherry, distinguished by the name of *pomme de prè*; but it is only made use of in sweet-meats.

With regard to game, there is plenty of all sorts, as well as of different kinds of fish. But I shall refer this subject to another letter, wherein I purpose to treat of hunting and fishing.

I beg, Sir, you will be pleased to accept of my good intention in endeavouring to oblige you. In my next I propose
finish-

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finishing the description of the island, and its principal harbours next to Louisburg. This I am the more capable of performing, as I accompanied the persons, appointed in 1752 by the Count de Raymond, marshal de camp; and governor of Cape Breton, to survey the whole coast. I shall afterwards proceed to more interesting matters, and you may judge of the pleasure I shall receive in contributing to your amusement, from the opinion you have of my sincerity. I have the honour of being,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R II.

Description of the island of Cape Breton continued; of the principal parts inhabited, of its productions, &c.

S I R,

IN my last I promised you a particular description of the remainder of the island of Cape Breton, before I came to

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Louisburg. I shall keep my word; nay, I shall do more, and give you likewise a compendious account of the island of St. John. As this and some other adjacent places belong to the government of Louisburg, of course they are within the sphere of your inquiry concerning the French possessions in this part of North America. You see that in extending the limits of your curiosity, I consider rather your pleasure than my own trouble; but indeed there can be none in serving a friend of your consequence and value.

Port Toulouse is the most considerable harbour in the island of Cape Breton next to Louisburg; and of the two is the most populous. From hence to Louisburg by land is about the distance of eighteen leagues. The road was made by the Count de Raymond in 1752. The court of France greatly disapproved of this undertaking, and indeed not without good reason. The expending a hundred thousand livres upon a road, that can be of no service but to the enemy, by rendering those eminences
which

which command Louisburg more accessible, is certainly money very ill applied. True it is that the abovementioned gentleman intended to erect a few redoubts, in order to oppose a descent, in case of a war with England: but he should not have ventured to execute the one, without making himself sure of the other.

This post notwithstanding would be of the utmost importance, were it only fortified. It serves as a staple or magazine for the island of St. John, which is no more than forty leagues distant: there the inhabitants of *Isle Madame*, *Little Degrat*, *L'Ardoise*, *St. Esprit*, and of the river of inhabitants, may easily assemble. Besides, it is conveniently situated for giving intelligence of the motions of the English, either on the side of Canso, which is only eighteen leagues from Louisburg; or towards the passage of Fronsac.

I set out upon my journey the fifth of February 1752, in company with the persons whom the commandant had directed to make an exact survey of the coast. The road we

took was that of the Count de St. Raymond, leaving on the left-hand a lake, which forms the rivulet of *Point flat*. The sixth we arrived at Gabarus bay, after travelling half the way from the first habitation through a forest of beech in a very sandy soil, and the other half through a road*, which brought us to the foot of the *Devil's mountain*.

Gabarus bay, in the neighbourhood of Louisburg, is formed by the *white point*, distant from each other about three leagues by sea, and six by land. It is nearly a league and a half in length, to the north-west of what we properly call Gabarus point; where there are two peninsula's, called *Desgoutins* and the *Governor's*, within which there is safe anchorage in all weather, except during the south-east winds, for then the sea is most boisterous. The bottom is gravel, and good holding ground. The

* The French call it *chemin plaqué*, the nature of which is as follows: when they intend to make a road across a wood, those that go foremost have a hatchet in their hand, with which they cut off the bark of the trees to the right and to the left, within a certain distance, in order to mark out the way.

two points forming this bay, are situated north-east and south-east. On the *flat point* to the north-west of the island, between the *white point* and *Cote Morandiere*, which is only half a league from Louisburg, there is a creek, where the English made a descent in 1745. Here you may easily take in fresh water, upon the *Governor's island*, which has two springs within seven or eight fathoms from the sea-shore, that run into the neighbouring *barachois* or ponds.

They give the name of *barachois* in this country to small ponds near the sea, from which they are separated only by a kind of causeway. There is no possibility of travelling even the distance of a league along the coast without meeting with some of these pieces of water.

The land between Gabarus point and the town is very uneven, marshy, and full of brambles. It is covered with turf twelve feet deep, which all the art of man can never dry up. Neither is there any possibility of draining off the waters, the bogs being surrounded with high rocky ground.

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ground. The bottom is a mixture of fat clay, and round stones, that form a very hard cement. From thence it is easy to judge of the difficulty of making a descent in this part of the bay, and of transporting artillery over such ground. But from *Cote Morandiere*, which is four leagues upon a descent from *Basque point* to the *Devil's mountain*, there are several creeks or little bays at a small distance from each other, where an enemy may land without running any great danger.

We left the *Devil's mountain* behind us, and arrived at *Basque point*, otherwise called *Point debors* *, which is two leagues further. At the foot of the mountain begins a sand-bank, half a league in length, and from forty to fifty fathoms in breadth. Here an enemy may land at any time with the tide, except it blows a storm. Neither could the redoubts proposed to be erected on *Point flat*, and on *Cote Morandiere*, hinder a descent in this place, being at too great a distance.

* The outward point.

Yet these redoubts, as I have before observed, would still be of great use. For not only they would hinder the enemy from landing too near the town; but even when he had effectuated a descent by means of the sand-bank at the bottom of the bay, they would annoy him greatly. Because, after forcing his way through a road almost impracticable, he would be under a necessity of attacking the redoubts before he could get into the other road: and this would be attended with so much the more danger, as by making proper detachments of the garrison, under brave and able commanders, together with the assistance of the savages, those little forts might be rendered in some measure impregnable.

Within a quarter of a league of the sand-bank southward, there is a creek near the outward point of the abovementioned bay, where vessels may ride at anchor in four or five fathoms water, sheltered from all winds, except the north, which blows over the land. This place is very well situated for the cod-fishery, which the old inhabi-

tants followed with success before the last war; and some do follow it still: but upon the whole, this settlement has been very much neglected. The soil is of a middling quality. There are several fine meadows in this neighbourhood, that produce excellent pasture, proper for grazing a large number of cattle, though a great part of the land lies altogether waste.

We set out from Gabarus the eighth, and took our route by the harbour of *Fourché*; distant from thence three leagues. Behind the sand-bank we found a lake, which we followed for a quarter of a league westward. This lake may be two hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth. The banks are covered with fir, and the neighbouring lands with beech. We crossed a thicket of fir-trees, of about forty fathoms: this brought us to the long lake, which may be a quarter of a league in length, and two hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth. The banks are covered with beech. We followed this water about a hundred fathoms, till we arrived at the great lake of Gabarus, forming

ing three branches, which run a great way up the country, to the north, north-east, and south-east. The river of the pond of *Bellevue* has its rise in the north branch. We went across it, directing our course south-west about four hundred fathoms, and then west north-west for a quarter of a league. The borders of the lake have very little beech, but almost every where are covered with fir.

At the further end of this lake we made a carriage of fourscore fathoms, and a second of four hundred, after finding another lake five hundred and fifty fathoms long and seventy in breadth, and at length we arrived at the pond of *Bellevue*.

This pond is very spacious, and forms several large branches, that run up the country, north-east, north and north-west. The borders of it are covered with brambles and fir. The entrance is north and south, and may be about two fathoms in breadth. A light boat may get in at high water.

A quarter of a league beyond this pond on the sea-side there is a sand-bank, which runs north.

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north-east and south-west. Its situation on the open beach will not afford any shelter for ships; so that if an enemy were to make a descent there in fine weather, he would run the danger of being cut off, if there was to be a storm before he re embarked. Besides, he would have a thousand obstacles to surmount, in case he attempted to advance into the country, as far as Gabarus by the road we have been just now describing, which is accessible only to a few people.

We left this pond to those who were rash enough to venture being lost there, and entered into an *suniguet* *, which brought us east south-west for above four hundred fathoms to the pond of *Mardechet*.

This place is a league in breadth, and has several branches. That to the north-west is a league and a half in length, forming a great many little islands; the gullet of it lies north and south, and may be about twelve fathoms in breadth. At high water

* A term used by the savages to signify a place which the tide comes up to, and is left almost dry at low water. The savages drive stakes, or piles to keep in the fish after the water is run off.

a boat heavy laden may cross it, taking care to avoid a rock to the entrance to the right, and a sand-bank to the left. These two shelves render the passage quite unsafe, except in a boat. The borders of the ponds are covered with fir, and before them there is a sand-bank not unlike to that of Bellefouille. About a league wide from hence there are a good many breakers, which have not above a fathom water, and there are great numbers of them on this coast, as there are of sand-banks that rise above water all along from the neck or gullet to the harbour of Fourché, distant from thence but a quarter of a league.

The harbour of Fourché is situated on the coast to the southward of the island, and is an excellent place for the cod-fishery. The entrance is very difficult because of the shoals. It is divided into two branches; one runs west north-west, and the other west. The latter was made very commodious before the last war. The English set fire to all the settlements, excepting a magazine of a hundred feet, which is still in being,

being. The lands around this haven produce very good pasture, and in great abundance.

We set out from Fourché the ninth, and after traversing a wood of spruce fir about a quarter of a league, we came to a lake extending also a quarter of a league in length, and about a hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth; and following one of its branches, we arrived at length at the *Great raspberry-pond*.

This place is situated within half a league of the harbour of Fourché. The entrance lies north-west and south south-west, and may be about a hundred and ten fathoms at its greatest breadth. There are two breakers over against the mouth of it; but this does not hinder boats with five or six cords of wood, from entering; nor vessels from riding safe at anchor. It runs a league and a half up the country, and is divided into several branches: that to the north north-west forms towards the middle a great many little islands. The lands being swampy, you see nothing worth notice

notice except a few meadows. The country is covered with firs, and briars; yet with such a prodigious intermixture of raspberries, as to give name to this pond, as well as to another which we arrived at by an *aniguen*, preceding westward the space of two hundred fathoms.

The second pond, known by the name of the *Small-raspberry*, is very inconsiderable, being accessible only to the canoes of the savages. It is a league in breadth to the south-west, and is divided into several branches, which run about two leagues up the land, forming several small islands. That which branches out to north north-east, is said to form a river, which empties itself into the lake of the river of Miré.

From thence we continued to survey the coast the space of four leagues, till we arrived at *St. Esprit*. In this passage we perceived no more than two creeks, where boats may be sheltered from the winds, reckoning from the west and north-west points to north north-east. That creek which they distinguish by the name of *Captan*,

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San, is the safest. But excepting these two places of shelter for shallops and canoes, the remainder of the coast is inaccessible, being lined with rocks and high grounds, the tops of which are covered with fir.

The harbour of *St. Esprit* admits of vessels of sixty or seventy tun, which may anchor there in the middle of the road, ten or twelve feet deep at high water. The mouth thereof lies north-east and west south-west. There are two breakers, one on each side. Behind the road there is a pond, which runs up the land about half a league to the north-west. It is lined with pasture grounds; and the mouth or gullet is deep enough at high water for boats laden with five cords of wood.

St. Esprit is well planted; and lies very convenient for the cod-fishery. Round about it there are a great many meadows; but the soil in general is sandy, and covered with fir; yet they have a great many very good gardens, abounding with all sorts

* The French call it a *rade forcée*, which signifies that trading vessels can have access to it only at particular times of the year.

of

Cape Breton continued 31

of legumes. Notwithstanding that this place has suffered greatly by the last war, yet it begins to recover itself apace.

The 11th of February we set out from *St. Esprit* for *Ardoise* *, where we arrived the same day. In the course of six leagues, which was the whole distance, we found a sand bank which produceth abundance of herbs, especially wild pease and rock parsley, and a kind of wild salary, of excellent use for sallads and soups. This bank extends from *St. Esprit* as far as the *Cabbage creek* †. The place is but small, yet vessels may ride there in south-west, north-west, and north north-east winds: but if it blows from any other quarter of the compass, they are greatly exposed. The circumference may be three quarters of a league, and in the middle it has seven or eight fathoms water. There are two breakers wide of the creek, which upon your entrance you leave to the right. The great river disembogues itself into this creek. Were it possible for

* *Ardoise* signifies a slate in French. † *Anse de la choux*.

vessels

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vessels of eighty tun to enter, they might run up the space of two leagues. The banks are covered with beech and with various sorts of fir and pine-trees.

From thence as far as *Ardoise*, the distance of four leagues, we saw nothing but a chain of steep rocks, and a sand-bank opposite the islands of *Michault*, which lie half a league out to sea, and abound with such plenty of game, that the whole surface of the ground seems to be covered with it. In short, the coast all along to *Ardoise*, exhibits nothing but precipices to the eye, and is absolutely inaccessible.

The bay of *Ardoise* divides itself into two branches; the smallest, though exposed to the winds from the main, is preferable to the other, because it does not run so far up the country, and has a larger column of water. Vessels are obliged to lyeer with all winds in the great bay, and of course are detained there a considerable while: so that they never come to anchor there but when necessity obliges them to it. This branch advances above half a league up the

the land, but is navigable only for shallops. However, it is an excellent bay for fishing, as it abounds with very good cod. There is plenty of pasture and beech in the neighbourhood; but the soil is too sandy to be proper for any other purpose than gardening.

In this bay there is a quarry of slate, from whence it takes its name. The coast is very steep, and towards that part near the sea-shore, you may see the different strata. This quarry runs a great way, and if the slate were but of a good quality, it would be a considerable advantage to the colony. We examined it in two different places, but missed the right stratum. We found only some large flakes, so loose as to break at the least contact.

From *Ardoise* we set out the 13th, and came to a spacious bay, the entrance of which lies south-east and north-west. It is four fathoms in depth; and when vessels have got in, they may ride extremely safe in fifteen or sixteen feet water, except in very high winds. As the bottom is a quick-sand, if they were to drive from
D their

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their anchors, they would either run upon the rocks of *Cape Ardoise*, or be lost upon a sand-bank at the bottom of the bay. This inconveniency is the cause of its not being frequented by mariners in autumn, at which time it frequently blows hard upon the coast; and then no vessels venture except those concerned in transporting cordwood.

Within a quarter of a league of this bay, you discover the island of the south south-west point, which may be about half a league in circumference. It is the boundary of the lands of the great island by the cape of the south-west part of the bay, and is covered with beech.

Upon quitting this place we discovered a small *auniguen* and two ponds, one of which is called the pond of the seven little islands; but they are too inconsiderable to engross your attention.

From thence we proceeded through a wood of different sorts of trees, at the end of which we discovered Port Toulouse, where we arrived soon after. As

this

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this is a very safe harbour, you will permit me, Sir, to land you. Indeed this account has been so diffuse, that I can add nothing further to it without being tiresome: and the barrenness of the subject is such, that I ought even to ask pardon for taking up so much of your time. Yet this narrative may be of advantage; and since you are desirous of making the tour of the island, I must give you proper directions for landing. But should you be curious to know how many enemies you would have to encounter, if like Amadis of Gaul, you were to venture by yourself upon an expedition of this high importance, I am qualified to give you a satisfactory account from Louisbourg as far as Port Toulouse. The whole number is no more than one hundred and eighty inhabitants, some of whom live very comfortably, and others indifferently; but they fare best towards Gabarus, where there is plenty of game, and where the woodcocks are so extremely tame, that you may knock them down with stones. Consult your courage upon these articles, and in the

mean while believe me that I am with the greatest attachment,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R III.

Description of Cape Breton continued, of the coast to the right, &c.

S I R,

I Have received the favour of yours, in answer to my first letter concerning the island of Cape Breton ; and am greatly pleased that you make no other complaint than at my not having entered into a sufficient detail. You will have no occasion, I am sure, to find the same fault with the second, nor with those which I shall write to you hereafter. As for reflections which arise from the nature of the subject, and afford entertainment to the mind, you will agree with me that it is proper to defer them, till I have finished the descriptive part, in which you are not for having the least thing omitted. You must therefore bear with the sterility of the subject ; for I do not rank you among those who
take

Cape Breton continued. 37

take pleasure in criticising the works of the Creator, or in finding fault with people when they have done their best. This is strictly applicable to far the greatest part of the topography of Cape Breton; but perhaps we shall be more entertaining, after we have finished the account of this voyage, which has been hitherto conducted as far as Port Toulouse.

You enter this harbour, which is situated to the right, by a narrow passage. The entrance runs east and west for the space of three leagues, and is of unequal breadth: yet it may be reduced to a hundred and seventy fathoms. Vessels of a hundred and fifty tun cannot get in, there being two shoals in the middle. It requires great skill even to pilot the small vessels.

Port Toulouse is formed by the coast point, and that of the brick-kiln, which lie north-west and south-east. The distance from one to the other is three quarters of a league. There is a channel through which the king's frigates might pass, if there was not a very long winding, which renders it of

difficult access. Yet in case of necessity the entrance might be facilitated even to large ships, only by being at the expence of marking the channel to the right and to the left, for then a vessel might pass without running any risk. It is pity that this harbour is not rendered capable of admitting ships of all burdens, as it affords a most delightful prospect, and is easy to fortify. Several forts might be constructed on the different points around it, which would hinder an enemy from approaching: but in its present condition it is next to impossible to prevent a descent, as you may judge from what follows.

From the point of the *old intendance* to the river of Tillard, and from thence to the *creek of the brick-kilns*, where the soil is stony and improper for tillage, it is very good landing all the way, and protected from the settlement. As you approach towards land, the brick-kiln is only a league distant from the houses in the harbour, and three quarters of a league from the river of Tillard.

This

This river lies convenient for trade; affording a safe, though not very spacious, harbour. Vessels of a hundred tun are sheltered from all winds. The inhabitants of Port Toulouse run their boats here ashore in winter. This is the only part not overlooked by the King's settlement. From *Coast-point* there runs a strand, which leaves a small space as far as the north-land, where this settlement is situated. In this spot there is a branch that advances half a league eastward into the country, where it would be as easy to land as in any part whatever.

Half a league from the harbour east south-east, lies the great strand, formed by a point to the east, and another west. The entrance is south-west and north-west. Vessels may anchor in five or six fathoms water. It is likewise protected from all winds, except those that blow from off the land. There are two breakers opposite the east-point, which are visible at low-water; but in coming in you leave them on your left-hand.

The creek of the great strand has a pond at the further end of it, which runs above a quarter of a league into the country north-west. The borders are covered with wood of various sorts, as is the whole neighbourhood of Port Toulouse.

I must now take some notice of the conveniency of this harbour. Its populousness hath been already mentioned; and indeed they reckon two hundred and thirty inhabitants, exclusive of officers and the king's troops. These people are very industrious; and it is they that supply Louisburg with most of its provision. In summer they are employed in building boats, and small vessels; in winter they cut fire-wood and timber. Besides, they till the earth, and keep a sufficient quantity of cattle and poultry. They were the first that brewed an excellent sort of antiscorbutic, of the tops of the *spruce-fir*; and from the same tree they extract a kind of turpentine, which they call *white balm*. They have a great number of maple trees of a very good grain, proper for furniture of all sorts, and especially for
the

the stocks of guns. This wood has a different sap from all others, which the inhabitants extract from it by trituration in the months of March and April. It is a juice most agreeable to the taste, of the colour of Spanish wine, good for the breast, a preservative against the stone, and no way hurtful to the stomach. They boil it, and make sugar of it. Lastly, this is the place that the savages of Cape Breton and Acadia bring all their furs to, and exchange them for European commodities.

Port Toulouse being no more than eighteen leagues from Louisburg, and five and twenty from the island of St. John by the lake of Labrador, is of course the center of communication to the whole island. From thence one may observe the least motion of the English, either at Canso, or in the passage of Froniac; and advice may be sent to the commandant of Louisburg in less than eighteen hours.

The savages who are almost all in a body on the island of the *holy family* in Labrador, where they have a missionary whom

whom they highly respect, might likewise be of service in giving early intelligence. Besides, being so near, they might come over in a trice upon the least appearance of danger; as well as the people of the islands of *Madame, Petit Degrat, Ardoise, St. Esprit*, and the *river of inhabitants*.

You see, Sir, that such a number of men collected in a body, would make a small army, so as to render this place impregnable, especially with the assistance of a few fortifications.

After making these remarks, we set out from Port Toulouse the twentieth of February, and directed our course by a river distant from thence a league and a half. It loses itself in the *small passage*, and takes its rise in a large bason situated within a quarter of a league of the gullet in the north part of the island. Its length from east to west is about half a league; and its breadth, which is very unequal, may be at the most a hundred and fifty fathoms. The entrance lies north and south. In a course of upwards of a quarter of a league

league it is from fifteen to sixteen feet deep at high water; and in every part throughout you meet with from three to five. It is navigable for vessels of a hundred tun, which are laden here with timber and cord-wood.

The badness of the weather obliged us to sojourn some time on the banks of this river, which are covered with beech. We set out from hence the next day, and after making a carriage for about a quarter of a mile through a plantation of fir, we arrived at the creek of *Decaux*, situate on the lands belonging to the islands of *Madame*.

This creek would form part of the strait of *Fronfac*, were it not for the separation effected by two islands, which lie in a direct line with the north lands, bordering on each other. There are two entrances at the two extremities of these islands. The north and south-west part of the eastern extremity, is by far the wholesomest. Vessels of a hundred tun may anchor here in every part from three to nine fathoms. The north-east and south-west part of the western extremity is navigable only for vessels

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sels that draw from six to seven feet at high water.

The length of this creek is three quarters of a league, and half a quarter in breadth. It runs east and west. The banks are covered with fir; and about a quarter of a league within land, you meet with all sorts of timber, proper for constructing vessels of lesser burden.

Leaving this creek, we crossed the strait above the *burnt island*, and arrived at the islands of *Madame*, after a passage of a hundred and fifty fathoms.

The strait of Fronsac separates Cape Breton from the continent, and is one of the entrances of the gulph of St. Lawrence. It is the channel of communication between Louisburg and the island of *St. John, Green-bay, Cbedaik, the bay des Chaleurs* *, *Gaspée*, and the remainder of Canada; not only because it is the shortest way, but moreover for the advantage of safe anchorage in case of bad weather, or of contrary winds. This passage is known only to the cruisers of Cape Breton, who perform it in

* Bay of beats.

small

Cape Breton continued. 45

small vessels; but it will become of greater importance, in proportion as the country grows more populous. It is extremely easy and convenient for all sorts of vessels. The strait is five or six leagues to the north-west of Canso. It is situate nearly north north-west, and south south-east, in length about four leagues, and at the most but half a league in breadth. In one part it is no more than three hundred fathoms.

The islands of *Madame* lie before the mouth of the strait of Fronsac to the south-east, and extend themselves betwixt Port Toulouse and Canso, forming two outlets to the right and left, which are distinguished by the names of the *greater* and *lesser passage* for arriving at the entrance of the strait. The *greater passage* is that which separates these islands of *Madame* from the continent, and is navigable for all sorts of vessels. The *lesser* is formed by the principal of these isles and Cape Breton, and is full of little islands. It is navigable only for small vessels.

This island is near four leagues in length,
and

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and a league and a half in breadth. The length, as well as the passage, runs east and west; and the breadth is north and south. It is indented in two places by arms of the sea, which divide it into three parts, and there is hardly water enough for shallows.

The soil is not proper for cultivation, for, not to mention that in spring there are continual fogs, the earth is only a composition of white clay and of stones heaped upon one another. The interior part is covered with beech and small cherry trees, and the borders with different sorts of fir.

The inhabitants of the islands of *Madame* are about a hundred and thirteen in number, and live as well as they can: that is, being greatly streigthened by the barrenness of the soil, they subsist by means of a little commerce. Some maintain themselves by fishing and hunting; others by cruizing winter and summer, and cutting wood for firing, which they sell for five livres the cord along the coast. The few horned cattle they are able to maintain, are likewise a considerable relief to them: in short, their distress

stress was so great as to excite our compassion.

We quitted this country without any other regret than that of leaving such miserable people behind us. And taking a canoe to carry us to *Petit Degrat*, we followed the coast, setting out from the creek of *Deconne* opposite to Port Toulouse, a quarter of a league from Cape la Ronde, whose steep banks are altogether inaccessible. There are likewise a great many breakers and sandbanks at some distance from the shore.

After taking our leave of this creek, we entered that of *Petit Degrat*, which is formed by *Cape la Ronde* and *Cape a gros Nez**, distant one from the other almost a league. It runs about a league into the land, still preserving its round figure. At the further extremity and at the distance of two hundred fathoms, vessels may anchor in five or six fathoms water, sheltered from every wind except east north-east. True it is that the navigation would not be safe here in the autumnal storms; yet when the English were masters of the country, they

* In English, *Cape of the great nose*.

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frequented this creek with vessels of three hundred tun to take in cord-wood. But they are more adventurous than our cruizers.

In the middle of this creek there are three little islands, which appear at some distance, let the sea be ever so tempestuous. Small vessels are sheltered here from east, south-east, and south-west winds; but you must take care to avoid a breaker between the land and these little islands. There is a passage or channel between them and the breaker, and another between this and the land. There is another breaker within a quarter of a league of *Cape la Ronde*, which, upon your entrance, may without any danger be left to the right or left, as there is a passage between it and the cape. One part of the land is covered with beech and the other with fir.

The creek of *Petit Degrat* is distant from the harbour only about a quarter of a league. Before the last war, there was a communication between them by means of a channel, the mouth of which has been filled

filled up by a violent storm. Yet boats with five or six cords of wood continue to go through.

This channel was extremely convenient for the fishermen, who carried their fish to Louisburg; because as soon as they got out of the great creek, they made their way across the pond of *Ardoise* in less than an hour. But at present they are obliged to go through the mouth of the harbour of *Petit Degrat*; to double the cape of *Gros Nez*, which projects a great way; and to run out four or five leagues to sea, in order to double *Ardoise*; which they are not always sure of doing in four and twenty hours: for you may judge that when they meet with contrary winds, they chuse rather to cast anchor, than venture to run twelve or fifteen leagues out to sea.

This passage was likewise of great use to the fishermen at *Petit Degrat*, because let the weather be ever so bad, their boats might get out and back again to the harbour.

The expence of restoring this communication, and of repairing the channel, would

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not exceed three hundred livres; a sum in itself very inconsiderable, but still more so when compared to the advantage it must produce.

This creek is likewise of excellent use for the fishery in the spring. At the further end of it the shore is very level, and there are excellent banks for drying the cod-fish, which is caught here in great plenty.

The harbour of *Petit Degrat* is situate on the coast, south-east of the islands of *Madame*, opposite the famous port of *Canso*, three hundred leagues distant from each other. They lie south south-west, and north north-east.

This same harbour is formed by the point of the river on the lands to the north-west, and by *Cape de Fer* to the south-east. The entrance may be about half a quarter of a league in breadth, and lies north-east and south-west.

This harbour runs half a league into the country north-east, and is almost throughout of the same breadth. There is a breaker at the distance of about a hundred fathoms

of

Cape Breton continued.

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of its mouth, opposite to cape de Fer. You leave it to the right upon your entrance; and after you have passed it, you keep close to the land, following the channel. The cluster of rocks to the left, will permit no boat to approach the shore at low water, without running a very great risk. The harbour itself is practicable only for vessels of a hundred and fifty tun at the most, the channel being but twelve or thirteen feet deep at high water. When they have got in, they cast anchor in the *creek aux navires* *, where they are sheltered from the south-west winds, which blow here chiefly in the spring.

The soil about *Petit Degrat* contains a mixture of pebbles and flints, with a superficies of turf. The inhabitants are intirely employed in the fishery, in which they meet with success; for on this spot they catch by far the best cod, and in the greatest quantity, of any part of the island. Hence it is that most of the inhabitants, who in the whole may be a

* *The creek for ships.*

hundred and thirty seven, are fishermen.

The twenty sixth of February we departed from *Petit Degrat*, and steering our course for the harbour of *Grand Nericka*, distant half a league from thence, we came upon lands intirely covered with different sorts of wood.

Grand Nericka is one of the best harbours in the whole country, and extremely proper for fishing in large vessels. It is formed by the islands of *Madame*, and by the island of *Picbot*. There are two entrances to it; but the east one is the best. It lies north and south-west, and may be a quarter of a league in breadth. There are two breakers opposite to *L'Isle d'Entrée*, which upon your entrance, you leave to the left. Take care you keep close to the land on this side, in order to avoid these breakers, because they are situate almost in the middle of the first entrance. The second to the west, lies west north-west and south-east. It is about half a league in breadth, and practicable only for vessels of fifty tun.

This

This harbour is very spacious, and runs a whole league north-east into the country, which is intirely covered with beech.

Leaving *Great Nericka* we entered the harbour of *Little Nericka*, which is practicable only for small vessels. The whole consists of several creeks and ponds, which are formed within the land, and covered with beech.

From thence we kept along the coast as far as *Cape Rouge*, and traversed the narrow passage in order to proceed to the river of *inhabitants*, distant about nine leagues from the haven of *Little Nericka*. We followed the right banks of the *lesser passage*, till we arrived at the great bason of the *river of inhabitants*, which loseth itself in this little passage of *Frontac*.

The entrance of the bason is situated east and west, and has a depth of seven fathoms at low water; but is not equal throughout. The bason, which is a league in length, and a quarter in breadth, runs east north-east. There are three breakers within a quarter of a league to the right

of the mouth of the river; but they are no way dangerous to vessels that enter la-veering. Along the banks you behold most beautiful meadows abounding with good pasture.

The *river of inhabitants* runs six leagues up the country in a serpentine course; and forms another bason within half a league of its mouth, where the *burnt island* is situated. You can proceed no further, not even in boats, because of a fall in the river. The remainder, which is uncultivated, might be turned into delightful meadows; and these, together with the beech and fir, would be a great assistance to the inhabitants, who are no more than thirty in number. One of them has set up a mill for sawing of timber. There are also a great many pine trees as well as oak and other good wood. But the land produceth no sort of grain, except buck-wheat, oats, and rie: so that their riches consist intirely in cattle.

Having finished our survey of this side of the island, we returned the same way to
Port

Port Toulouse. The commissioners appointed by count de Raymond, had orders to continue their survey, going round by the other side of Louisburg. But I could not bear them company, being hindered by a violent cold, which obliged me to return. I shall therefore be less particular in what follows; but I hope you will be so good as to excuse me, especially as I shall thereby avoid being tedious; and in the main you can be no loser; the places that remain undescribed, being more thinly inhabited, and less resorted to than those already mentioned. I purpose however making you amends in my account of the island of St. John, which I have also surveyed. As it is not so well known as Cape Breton, my accuracy in this respect will be more acceptable. But I must give you time to breathe, and only put you in mind that I am, &c.

LETTER IV.

The same description continued; of the coast to the left, and of the island of St. John.

S I R,

IN consequence of my last, you were no more to expect such a minute description of the island of Cape Breton, as that with which you have been hitherto entertained; yet I shall be so copious, that there will be very little occasion to add any thing further upon the subject. We are now returned to Louisburg, after surveying the coast to the right. We shall next entertain you with what is to be seen to the left. The first place we came to, is Cape Lorenbec, to the north-east, and not a great way from Louisburg. Here is a haven of the same name, and another called the *Balaine*. The entrance of both these harbours is extremely difficult. They admit only of small vessels, and fishing boats, of which there are a great many on the coast. We came next to the little island, called *Portenove*, about two leagues north-east

of

Cape Breton continued. 57

of the light-house of Louisburg, and about a quarter of a league from the coast. Between *Portenove* and the land there is a rock under water, on which the king's frigate *Le Chameau* was lost in 1725. The sea breaks here in all sorts of weather. The bay of *Menadou*, to which we proceeded next, is about half a league in breadth at the entrance, and two in length. Over against it lies the island of *Scatari*, from which the bay of *Miré* is separated only by a narrow neck of land. The figure thereof is nearly triangular. It is about two leagues in length east and west, being separated from *Cape Breton* by an arm of the sea, about a mile over, called the passage of *Menadou*. Ships of war may pass this way, without any danger but from the breakers on the side of *Cape Breton*, which are avoided by keeping close to the island of *Scatari*, where they will be extremely safe.

Towards the north-east point of *Scatari*, you perceive two small islands, or rather two black rocks, called *Cormandieres*. The largest

largest vessels may approach them with safety on the side towards the sea.

The island of Scatari is covered with a lighter kind of moss, than what I observed in any other part of the country: wherever you tread, the moss gives way, as it only covers the surface of the water. There is a pretty large stream, with several lesser rivulets, and different ponds, especially in the eastern part. Two families of fishermen live upon the island.

The bay of Miré is eight leagues in length, and the entrance two in breadth; but it grows narrower afterwards, and receives several little rivers. Large vessels run six leagues up into it, and find very safe anchorage, protected from all weather. Here likewise you meet with a great many lesser islands, and with rocks that are visible at some distance.

The bay of Morienne lies higher up, being separated from that of Miré by *Cape-Brulé* *, and a little further on is the *Flat island*. Among these islands and

* *The Burnt-Cape.*

rocks,

rocks, there is very good shelter for shipping.

I shall be a little more diffuse upon what they call the Indian bay, which is distant three leagues from thence, ascending north-west. This bay, or rather harbour, is very small, and hardly proper for any other use than fishing, as it admits only of vessels of about a hundred and twenty tun. The few inhabitants hereabouts neglect all sort of agriculture. Yet this is grown a remarkable place, in consequence of a fort erected here by the English during the last war, at a place called *Cape Coal*, from a coal-pit of their discovering. This fort was so strong, that with fifty men they were able to defend themselves against the incursions of the savages, and to keep possession of the pit. It was likewise of service to the French, since the coals were made use of to warm the troops at Louisburg; and the intendant of the colony frequently gave leave to particular favourites to load their ships with it instead of ballast. But the pit took fire in the summer of 1752, and intirely consumed the fort. The

60 DESCRIPTION of

The Spanish bay, situate two leagues north of the Indian, is of a considerable length, and admits of all sorts of vessels. It is divided into two branches, one south and the other west. Some of the inhabitants of Acadia have settled in this spot, and begun to clear the land; yet hitherto it has yielded nothing round the borders of the bay. There is a great deal of wood, and lime-stone, with another sort of stone proper for building, and two coal-pits; but there is very little pasturage. From hence to the entrance of the little Labrador it is two leagues; and the isle of *Verderonne*, which separates it from the widest entrance, is as many. This island belongs to M. le Poupet de la Boularderie.

Labrador is a kind of a gulph above five and twenty leagues in length, and three or four in breadth. It extends, as hath been already observed, from the carriage of Chetekant, very near to Port Toulouse. The banks are covered with different sorts of trees, and there is a quarry of free-stone. These places are all very proper

proper for the fishery (there being great plenty of cod) as well as for the cultivation of different sorts of grain. And indeed this is the most populous part of the island. They reckon but a league and a half from the great entrance of Labrador to *Port Dauphin*. Vessels may anchor very safe to the offward among the islands of *Ciboux*.

Port Dauphin is a very fine harbour, two leagues in circumference, and was heretofore called *Port Saint Anne*. It is almost entirely shut up by a neck of land, which leaves only a passage for one vessel at a time. The ships can hardly perceive the least motion of the winds, the grounds, that surround it on all sides, being of so great a height: besides they approach the shore as near as they please without danger; and the harbour is capable of admitting vessels even of four hundred tun. The bay is capacious enough to contain a thousand. Before it is the great bay of *St. Anne*, covered to the south-east by the two islands of *Ciboux* and *Cape Dauphin*, and
to

62 DESCRIPTION of

to the northward by the coast which runs to the north north-east four degrees north in the same direction, as far as *Cape Enfumé**, distant seven leagues from the entrance of Port Dauphin.

Cape Enfumé is very remarkable, not only by reason of its great height, but moreover for two white hills or cliffs to the south-west of this cape. These two hills are called the veils of *Cape Enfumé*.

France was long in suspense between this and the English harbour, which of the two she should make the chief settlement. From its situation and difficulty of access, there is no doubt but it might be rendered impregnable at a very small expence. Yet this very circumstance made that crown determine on the opposite side. I believe the French have by this time repented, and will have still more reason to repent, their having preferred conveniency to security. The maintaining of the *English harbour* is infinitely more expensive; and we have a melancholy proof of its not being impregnable.

* The Smoky-Cape.

Cape Breton continued. 63

The strand of Port Dauphin is of greater extent than that of any other harbour in the island; and notwithstanding that there is plenty of cod-fish, yet this is not the only advantage of the place: the neighbourhood of Labrador and Niganiche renders it easy for the inhabitants and the savages to assemble upon necessary occasions.

The vessels employed in the fishery at Niganiche, are obliged by the king's ordinance, to retire to Port Dauphin towards the 15th of August, because of the storms that rage in that season. When they have got into those harbours, they expose the cod-fish on shore, where nature seems to have made a bed for that purpose. Sometimes you see a hundred and fifty boats employed in this business.

True it is that even at Port Dauphin, they cannot fish in their shallops; but still they may make use of their smaller boats, as in other places. This inconveniency is likewise compensated by the fertility of the land, by the quantity of fine wood, and
espe-

64 DESCRIPTION of

especially oak. In fine, this harbour, which is only twenty leagues from Louisburg, furnishes the latter town with great part of its provisions, and with a thousand cords of wood annually for firing.

From Port Dauphin we arrived at Niganiche, which is only a road, where the vessels are far from being safe; but there is great plenty of cod-fish. Yet as it must be deserted at a certain season, and the country thereabouts is quite barren, there are hardly any dwellings upon the place. Even those few inhabitants are obliged to fetch their wood for firing from Port Dauphin.

Leaving Niganiche we came to the creek of Ouarachouque, and from thence successively to the harbour of Aspe, Cape North, the creek of St. Lawrence, and the cape of the same name. Cape North, or the mountain which forms it, is a peninsula joining to the island of Cape Breton by a very low neck of land. But none of these places are inhabited, or hardly at all frequented, no more than Limbach, the Basque-creek,

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the island of St. John. 65

the *Salmon-road*, the islands of *Loup Marin* and *Juste-au-corps*; therefore I am of opinion you will approve of my omitting them in the particular description of Cape Breton, of which I am now come to a conclusion.

Perhaps I ought also to conclude my letter here, lest I should confound two different objects; but the opportunity of sending you my observations is so precious, and your curiosity so great, that I think it incumbent upon me to improve the former, and satisfy the latter. Let us therefore proceed directly from Cape Breton to St. John's; and although the sea separates these islands, yet the same power and interest unites them.

St. John's is the largest of all the islands in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and has even the advantage of Cape Breton in point of fertility. Its length is twenty leagues, and circumference about fifty. It has a safe commodious harbour, with plenty of wood, and as great a conveniency for fishing as any place on the coast. It had been altogether neglected as

well as Cape Breton; when necessity having shewn the French the utility of the latter, their eyes were also opened in regard to the former. They have since been at great pains to plant this island, though not at enough, considering its advantageous situation. Having made a voyage upon this coast, I shall from thence, and not from second hand relations, which are frequently defective, give you a description of this country,

Though the island of St. John is subject to a particular commandant, he receives his orders from the governor of Cape Breton, and administers justice conjunctly with the subdelegate of the intendant of New France. They reside at Port la Joye, and the governor of Louisburg furnishes them with a garrison of fifty or sixty men.

It was from this place we set out in the beginning of the month of August 1752. We ascended the river to the north-east up to its very source, from whence we proceeded to the harbour of St. Peter, after having made a carriage of four leagues across a plain well cultivated, and abounding with all sorts of grain. Hav-

the island of St. John. 67

Having sojourned some time in this harbour, of which I shall give an account hereafter, we set sail for the south side, and arrived the same day at the creek of *Matieu*. This place is situate in the south part of the island, within three leagues of the peninsula of the three rivers, and six of the east point. It is inclosed to the south by Cape David, and to the north by *Cape de la Souris*, distant from each other about a league. It runs about half a league west into the land, and is almost every where of the same breadth. The harbour of *Matieu* has no plantation. It is situate northward, and runs west a league up the country. Its breadth is very unequal, the greatest is half a quarter of a league, and that of its channel is about a musket shot, with nine or ten feet at low water.

The harbour of *Fortune* is situate at the other extremity of the creek of *Matieu*, and runs up a league south-west into the country. It may be about a mile at its greatest breadth, and is seven feet deep at low water upon the bar.

The neighbouring lands are exceeding good, and proper for culture. We found several sorts of trees, with a prodigious number of foxes, martens, hares, partridges, which conceal themselves under ground. The rivers abound in fish, and are bordered with pasture-lands that produce exceeding good grass. I confess there is no great plenty of it, yet the quantity might be improved by carrying those meadows up to the rising grounds, which are extremely fit for this purpose. The inhabitants came over here from Acadia during the last war, and are about eight and forty in number.

We set out from the harbour of *Fortune*, directing our course towards the east point, and after doubling the point of the creek of *Matieu*, we proceeded somewhat to the offward of the harbour *De la Souris*. The latter runs northward a league and a half into the country, and extends an arm towards the eastward. The entrance is practicable only for small boats, of the burden of three or four cords of wood. From thence we proceeded to two small creeks, distant

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distant from each other a league and a half; one of these runs west, and the other north-west. You cannot get thither but in a shallop or a canoe. There is very little grass upon this spot; but the rising grounds seem to be very proper for cultivation. They are covered with all sorts of trees proper for building.

Within two leagues of these small harbours, we came to that of *L'Escouffier*, the entrance of which runs north and south. It is of a middling breadth, and divides itself into two branches, which run east and west. The entrance of that to the right is a league in length, and a quarter in breadth; that to the left is three quarters of a league.

This harbour is capable only of receiving small boats; but its banks are adorned with beautiful meadows. It was formerly no more than a creek, but the winds and high tides have raised the downs, which part it from the sea. After coasting for about two leagues, we doubled the east point, which we found deserted, because a fire had obliged the inhabitants to abandon it, in

70 DESCRIPTION of

order to go and settle two leagues further upon the north side. The place they have taken shelter at, is a great deal more convenient than that from which they were burnt out. They may clear a good deal of land, which they have already begun to do, as far as their excessive poverty, occasioned by this incident, will permit them. Their number is two and twenty in all.

We continued our course for six leagues, till we arrived at the *Pool de Naufrage* *. The coast, though very level, presents the eye with nothing but a country laid waste by fire; and further on it is covered with beech. We met with but one inhabitant, who told us that the lands about the pool are exceeding good, and easy to cultivate; and that every thing grows there in great plenty. Of this he gave us a demonstration, which afforded us a singular pleasure; this was a small quantity of wheat which he had sown that year: and indeed nothing could be more beautiful than the ears, which were larger, longer, and fuller than any I had seen in Europe.

* *The Pool of Shipwreck.*

This

This place took the name of *Pool de Naufrage*, from a French ship that had been cast away upon the coast. The vessel was lost four leagues out at sea; but a few passengers saved themselves upon the wreck, and were the first that settled at the harbour of St. Peter. The pool runs a quarter of a league south-west into the country. Its breadth at the further extremity may be about the reach of a four pounder. It receives a large rivulet, which derives its course from two springs, distant two leagues and a half west south-west up the country. This rivulet is capable of supplying a sufficiency of water, almost in all weathers, even in spite of the frost, by means of several mills constructed for that purpose.

The coast all along from the harbour of *Fortune* to that of St. Peter, where we arrived the fourteenth of August, after cruising six leagues from the time we left the pool, swarms with all sorts of game, and with variety of the very best fish. This abundance was a great relief to the poor wretches who were shipwrecked on that coast,

as I have already observed: but Heaven did not pity them by halves; for the savages, at that time the only inhabitants of the place, became civilized for their sake, and helped them to settle and maintain themselves on the island. They even gave them share of their chase, which at that time consisted chiefly in otters and musk rats.

The harbour of St. Peter is situate on the north part of the island. The mouth is choaked up by sands, and lies east and south. Its greatest breadth may be about half a mile. The channel lying north and south-east, is quite safe at high water. It is every where fifteen or sixteen feet deep, consequently navigable for vessels drawing ten or twelve feet.

In order to render this a commodious harbour, I think they should raise, from the foot of the east downs to the borders of the channel, a causey of sufficient height to force the waters of the currents as well as the river, through the channel, and prevent them from spreading over the lands, to the end that the rapidity of the current might

might carry away the bar, which stops up the mouth of the harbour.

The fishery is carried on here with the same success as at the harbour of St. Peter. The cod is even of a larger size than that on the coast of Cape Breton, and is caught in greater plenty; but it is difficult to cure, which obliges the fishermen to carry a large quantity of it to the other islands of America. I think it would answer very well to salt and barrel it directly, and then send it to Europe.

The plantation of the harbour of St. Peter is of great consequence, as well in regard to the fishery, as to the commerce which the inhabitants may carry on in the interior parts of the island. But to render it more solid and durable, they should attend to the essential part, namely to agriculture and pasturage, for the breeding and maintaining of all sorts of cattle, and especially sheep. By keeping them together in folds, the upper lands might be improved, and meadows and corn-fields laid out; from whence the inhabitants would reap a plentiful

74 DESCRIPTION of

ful harvest of all kinds of grain. For if they had but the proper means of making these improvements, their own lands would abundantly supply all their wants, and they would be beholding to foreigners for nothing but salt, lines, hooks, and other fishing tack^s. They might then dispose of their fish at a lower price, which would greatly increase their wealth. Here they have likewise a vast quantity of plaice, thornbacks, barbels, mackerels, and herrings. In several pools and lakes along the downs, they have excellent trouts, and such a prodigious multitude of eels, that three men might fill three hogsheds of them in four and twenty hours. Lastly, you meet here, as well as in other parts of the island, with great plenty of game, particularly ortolans, and white rabbits of a most delicate taste. It is not therefore at all surprizing that so plentiful a country should abound more than any other part with inhabitants. In this harbour only we reckoned three hundred and thirty nine.

It is true that some of these, though ranked

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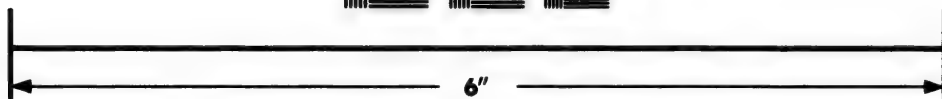
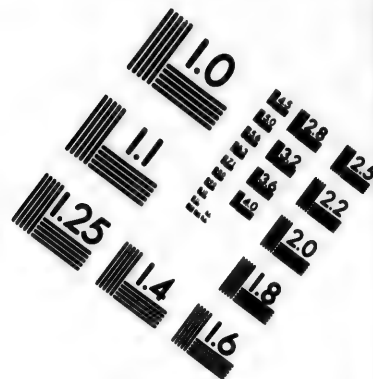
ranked among the inhabitants of the harbour of St. Peter, have their plantations about the harbour of the *Savages*, which is distant only a league from the former.

The harbour of the *Savages* advances half a league south into the country, and is divided into two branches. One runs a quarter of a league south south-west: at the further end there is a brook with a mill for grinding of corn; the other runs half a league west north-west. Near this haven grows the best wheat in the island.

From thence we proceeded three leagues further to the harbour of *Tracadie*, and found the same conveniency for fishing, and agriculture; so that the inhabitants seem to be very much at their ease, the natural consequence of industry.

The entrance of the harbour of *Tracadie* is formed by a cut of the downs at both extremities east and west. Their distance is half a quarter of a league. The breadth of the channel is sixty fathoms; and it runs north north-east, and south south-west. It is of equal depth throughout, that





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that is, sixteen feet at high water. At the mouth there is a bar of sand, which runs east and west, and prevents vessels that draw above eleven or twelve feet, from entering. The harbour however is handsome and spacious, running two leagues eastward behind the downs, and a league south into the country. The breadth of it is the same to the further extremity. The western coast is the only part inhabited, and has very handsome causeys. The neighbouring country is covered with trees of all sorts; and the borders are also embellished with meadows, which produce abundance of pasture.

In this harbour, and in the *Shepherds pool* belonging to it, we reckoned seventy seven inhabitants. From thence we set out for Malpec.

I believe, Sir, I need not tell you, that in these calculations I never included the savages. In all probability you will expect that I shall give you a separate article in regard to these poor people. Indeed you are in the right, and I have taken this
step,

step, in order to methodize what I have to observe upon the subject. But I have said enough for the present; and since the compass of a letter will not permit me to finish the description of the island of St. John; it is far preferable to defer the remainder of my task to another opportunity. I must therefore beg to be excused, if the desire of making you acquainted with an island hitherto but very little known, lays me under the necessity of engaging a little more of your time. Yet I grant you a truce for the present, upon condition that the less I spare you hereafter, the more you will believe me to be,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R V.

*Description of the island of St. John continued,
and of its productions.*

S I R,

THIS sequel of the description of the island of St. John will come into your hands at the same time as the former part;

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part; because the ship that was to convey my last, has made a longer stay than I expected. We left off at our setting out from Tracadie for Malpec: here we shall take up our narrative again, and continue the voyage.

From Tracadie we set out the twenty second of August, in very bad weather; and after an hour's sailing, we found ourselves in the middle of the harbour of *Little Racico*. The entrance lies north north-east, and south south-west, and is practicable only for boats at high water, and in very fair weather.

The country round about this harbour is proper for culture, and covered with all sorts of fine timber. But what is very remarkable, there is a conveniency here for building of large vessels, shallops, and canoes.

The badness of the weather obliged us to put into the harbour of *Great Racico*, the entrance of which is a hundred and twenty fathoms in breadth north-east and south-west. It has two branches, one of which

which advances east south-east about three leagues on the side of *Little Racico*, and the other runs half a league south-west. These two rivers are extremely rapid: their banks are covered with timber; and they might likewise have mills for sawing, and for grinding of corn.

After having made some stay in this harbour, we departed from thence the twenty third, with the wind at north north-west, which rose so high as obliged us to put into the little harbour. The entrance is situated north north-east, and south south-west. The breadth of it may be a hundred and eighty fathoms, and its channel seventy. You find throughout a depth of eleven or twelve feet, at high water. There are likewise some remains of a settlement, and even of a fishery about this place: the latter might be still continued, since the fishing boats would be perfectly safe because of a kind of gulph, from whence a river is formed, that runs above a league south south-west up the country. This harbour receives two great streams,

80 DESCRIPTION of.

streams, which come from the inner part of the island, west south-west. They are so very rapid, and their banks are covered with such fine timber, that mills might be easily erected on this spot.

The wind having chopped about, we set sail for Malpec, where we arrived that evening, after having enjoyed a prospect of a charming coast, decorated with meadows, and beautiful trees. But we were greatly incommoded with *maringoins* or gnats, whose stings are more pungent here than any other part of the country. There are such swarms of these insects, and they bite with such venom and fury, that persons not accustomed to their insolence, are apt to lose all patience.

The harbour of Malpec is within sixteen leagues of that of St. Peter. It is situate on the north coast, and very convenient for the cod-fishery, nature having formed several small islands, as well as strands adapted for drying it; and besides, there is a brisk sharp air proper for the purpose. It is therefore a convenient spot for this

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The island of St. John. 81

kind of commerce, and these little islands contribute to the security of the harbour.

Malpec has four different entrances. The first to the westward, is formed by the south-west point, situate on the *grande terre* of the island of St. John, and by the north-east point of the little island of the east entrance. The distance from one point to another is estimated at three quarters of a league, and runs north-east and south-west. Vessels that draw twelve or thirteen feet water are obliged to leave the space of a quarter of a league between the two points, where you have generally three fathoms at low water.

The second entrance which lies north north-east, and south south-west, is formed by the west north-west point of the little isle of entrance, and that of the east south-east point of the north. This is wider than the other. The channel may be three hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth, five or six in depth at the lowest ebb, and seven at high water. None but these two entrances admit of all sorts of vessels; the other two are only for shallops and canoes.

The isle of *Savages* lies between the east and north-west entrances. Its situation renders it extremely convenient for the reception of vessels into the harbour, as well as for the safety of anchorage; therefore whenever they intend to make either of these two entrances, they should turn their head to the isle of *Savages*. We made use of this precaution, by means of which a vessel is always certain of riding safe in the middle of the channel.

There is a second island west south-west of that of the *Savages*. The latter was resigned intirely to them, and is three quarters of a league distant from the former. It makes the east north-west, and may be about a league and a half in circumference. The lands are high, and covered with beech.

The rapidity of the currents of this haven, hath forced the three different entrances here mentioned. That further on to the west, was not formed before 1750, when a violent storm beat off the sands; and the strength of the currents has hindered

the island of St. John. 83

dered them since from returning. From the north-west point it is two leagues and a quarter; and from the east and north-west to the bottom of the bay we reckoned two leagues. They go up with vessels from a hundred to a hundred and fifty tun. The harbour is divided into two branches; the first runs about a league south south-west; and at the further extremity there is a little river, which riseth half a league within the south lands. The second runs three leagues west south-west. Small vessels may ascend it the space of two leagues.

Keeping along the west point we arrived at a kind of canal, which runs north-west as far as the harbour of Cachecampec. It admits only of small vessels, and forms a communication betwixt the two harbours distant from each other six leagues.

The lands adjacent to the harbour of Malpec are of a superior quality to those of St. Peter, and indeed by far the best of the whole island of St. John. The banks of the rivers are covered with all sorts of beautiful trees. Between this and the harbour

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of Cachecampec there is a large grove of cedars, above three leagues in circumference. There are two sorts of cedar-trees, white and red; the white is the largest, and serves to make shingles or coverings of houses, inclosures, &c. The wood is extremely light; and distils a kind of incense, but bears no fruit like the cedar of mount Libanus. The fragrancy is in the leaves: that of the red cedar is in the wood, and far more agreeable.

The Acadian women are accustomed to chew this incense, which preserves their teeth, and makes them look exceeding white. In the neighbourhood they have likewise discovered a particular kind of clay, proper for making of bricks. They have also great plenty of all sorts of game. Notwithstanding these advantages, the inhabitants are by unforeseen accidents reduced to great misery; for which reason they ought, in my opinion, to be allowed the privilege of fishing. It is a mistake to imagine that this method of subsisting would make them indiligent with regard to agriculture. The har-

Harbours of St. Peter and Tracadie are proofs of the contrary. It is even demonstrable that the fishery is a sure means of promoting tillage, because it enables those who follow it, to maintain domestics and cattle, without which the lands must needs remain uncultivated. Neither is this the only advantage they would reap from the fishery; for the stock of dry cod which they would keep by them, together with the adventitious helps of milk, butter, and cheese, would supply any scarcity in bad years, and repair the damage done to the grain by locusts and field-mice. These animals are the scourge of the country. Whenever there happens to be plenty of beech-mast, the field-mice come out of their lurking places, and devour whatever they find either in the woods or the open fields: and after every thing is consumed, they rush headlong into the sea; where in all probability they expect to find some nourishment. In rainy weather, or in case of inundations of rivers, or of thick fogs, the field-mice are succeeded by locusts,

which commit the like devastation. These misfortunes frequently reduce the inhabitants, who are two hundred in number, to great misery; and such indeed was their condition, when we happened to be among them.

From Malpec we set out in a canoe, and after crossing a bay three leagues, we landed near a small rivulet, intirely fed by the filtration of the waters, which lodge themselves in this low marshy neighbourhood. From thence we directed our course by a way that begins at the bottom of the rivulet, and runs a league to the southward. The earth was covered with beech, and especially with a prodigious quantity of French-beans, and a kind of pine-trees. At length we arrived at Bedec.

The harbour of Bedec is inhabited by eight families, which by our computation made four and forty souls. It is situate on the south side of the island within sixteen leagues of *Port de la Joye*, and eighteen of the Green-bay of Acadia. The soil is very proper for culture; and the borders are adorned

adorned with beautiful meadows. The entrance is formed by the point of the isle of Bedec upon the lands eastward, and by the west north-west point upon those to the west. These two points being south-east, and west north-west, are three quarters of a league distant from each other. The channel, situate north-east and south-west, may be about a quarter of a league in breadth, and from four to five fathoms depth at low water. After doubling the isle of Bedec, the harbour divides itself into two branches; one runs north-east about a league and a half, the other south-east three quarters of a league. In both you may cast anchor in four or five fathoms at low water: but for greater safety you had better move to the south-west side, which is thoroughly protected from the wind.

Leaving the harbour of Bedec, we followed the coast, and reached the *Traverse river*, where we reckoned only three and twenty inhabitants, but observed that the banks were covered with very good pasture.

From thence we proceeded to the *River aux blonds*, following the coast for three leagues. This stream runs up the country four leagues north. The inhabitants, to the number of thirty seven, are settled on both sides a league from the mouth. Those lands which we saw cultivated, promise very fair; and those untilld are covered with timber. This river is navigable only for boats, and its banks are enriched with excellent pasture.

Keeping along the coast we arrived at the *River of toads*, where we found but thirteen inhabitants, and nothing remarkable. From thence we proceeded to the creek north-west. The coast all long is very low, and covered with plenty of timber. Here we reckoned thirty inhabitants. We left this place to return to *Port de la Joye*, from which we were distant no more than three leagues: but before this we landed at the *Creek of the wild boar*, in order to see ten poor inhabitants, whose misery greatly excited our compassion.

From the *Traverse river* to *Port de la Joye*, the coast swarms with all sorts of wild fowl, espec-

The island of St. John. 89

especially with vast multitudes of bustards, *crevans* *, and teals. There are a great many beautiful meadows that produce good crops of hay, and might even furnish a sufficient quantity for the remainder of the island, if they would but undertake to mow it. Yet it would be more proper to increase the number of inhabitants, especially towards the north-west creek.

In the woods you meet with a vast number of foxes, martens, and hares, but very few partridges; however, you are made amends by the woodcocks, which keep together in numerous flocks, and sometimes are so tame, and fly so near the ground, that you may knock them down with stones. The plenty of shell-fish is likewise a great relief to the inhabitants.

We are now returned to *Port de la Joye*, of which I shall give you a sketch. This harbour, called the creek of *Point prime*, is formed by a point of this name, situate on the lands south south-east of the entrance of the port, and by the north-west

* A kind of wild fowl peculiar to that country.

point,

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point, situate on the lands north north-west of the said entrance. These two points are the south-east and north-west. The distance from one to the other in a direct line is seven leagues and a half, with two in depth, and seven in circumference.

The channel is situate north north-east, and south south-west of the entrance, and runs up to *Port de la Joye*. The depth is generally from seven to eight fathoms at low water, and in some places nine. The breadth, though variable, is reckoned a quarter of a league.

The most skillful pilots of the country affirm, that when you are in five fathoms water, you have not as yet entered the right channel, but that you should sail near the wind, according to what direction you are in. Upon your entrance you leave the *Governor's island* to the right, but take care of the shoals, which run out considerably into the main, and are a large cluster of rocks. The *Governor's island* is of a round figure, about a league and a half in circumference, and half a league in breadth.

breadth. There is a great deal of timber of different sorts, and vast plenty of game.

To the left also upon your entrance, you leave the island of the Count of St. Peter, which is much more accessible than the *Governor's island*, the shore being very level. It is a quarter of a league long, and four hundred fathoms broad, being covered with pine and fir-trees. You may even wade over the bar, as it is quite dry at low water, beginning from the north-west point. Upon this bar and all along the banks of the island, there is a prodigious quantity of bustards, *crevans*, and woodcocks.

Port de la Joye is situated at the bottom of the creek of *La Joye*, five leagues from *Point prime*, making the circuit from point to point. It is formed by the Raspberry point, situate on the lands to the eastward, and by the point *A la flame*, situate on those to the west. These two points lie east north-east, and west south-west. The distance between them is but a quarter of a league. The channel that runs just in the middle between the two points, may be three hundred

dred fathoms, where it is widest at low water.

The road is a quarter of a league from the entrance, between those two points, distant one from the other a quarter of a league. There is good holding ground in nine fathoms, and a miry bottom. Three rivers disembogue themselves into this road, from the west, north, and north-east.

The mouth of the west river is formed by one of the latter points, situate to the left ascending, and by the north point at the distance of a quarter of a league. This river runs four leagues into the land, and is almost every where of the same breadth.

The mouth of the north-east river is formed by the north point of the west river, and by the east point of this north river, distant from each other a quarter of a league. It runs four leagues up the country.

The north-east river is formed by a point towards the entrance to the right, and by the east point of the north river. These two points are north-west and south-east, and the distance from one to the other is nine hundred fathoms. This river runs
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nine leagues up the country. It is one of the best planted streams in the whole island; and not without good reason, for the soil being light and somewhat sandy, is the more proper for culture.

After taking a view of all those places, we arrived at the river of the Great Ascension, three leagues south of *Port de la Joye*. It is formed by the west point and that of the birch-trees, situate on the lands to the eastward. They are distant from each other a quarter of a league. This river divides itself into three branches, which run east, north, and west, about three quarters of a league. They are navigable for small vessels. At the further extremity of the north-west branch, a little rivulet joins this stream, and is of sufficient rapidity for erecting a saw-mill upon this spot, especially as there is plenty of wood at hand. All these places are more or less inhabited, in proportion to the goodness of the soil: but as the people live at some distance from one another, as well as from *Port de la Joye*; when I have concluded my account of such places

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as merit attention, I shall give you our calculation of the number of inhabitants. After surveying the rivers above mentioned, we went to the little river of Peuguit, from thence to the river of the *Saw-mill*, and thence to the *River of Whites*, and in each place we took notice of the habitations, till at length we arrived at the *Busb-creek*, situate on the river to the north-east, and from thence to the *Dead-creek*, to the *Little Ascension*, and to the *Pirogues*.

Leaving the *Pirogues*, we set sail for the *Count of St. Peter's creek*, doubling the points of *Marguerite* and *Framboise*, and arrived there in half an hour. The country round this place is pretty good, but there are no pasture grounds, consequently no cattle. They have the same want at the creek of the *Pirogues*, which is supplied from the *Little Ascension*.

At a small distance from *Count St. Peter's creek*, we found that of the *Seamen*. They are both situated on the south side of the bay of *Port de la Joye*. I do not intend to send you a description of them, since they are

are remarkable only for their populousity. The coast on this side is separated from the north-east river by a very thick wood, which makes their distance from two to seven leagues. In the middle of this wood is the royal road of the three rivers. It was undertaken by Count de Raymond, and beginning from point *Marguerite*, was carried on as far as the peninsula of the three rivers. A very good settlement might be made on this part of the island, if fine woods, pleasant meadows, fruitful lands, plenty of game and fish, can be any encouragement to planters.

After having been to see the *Creek of the Seamen*, and the *little morass*, we set out from the latter, distant two leagues from *Port de la Joye*, and keeping close to the coast, which is very low, and covered with all sorts of wood, we arrived at the large creek, and directed our course by the *Great Ascension*. On the banks of this river, which hath been already described, we found some timber proper for ship-building.

Having passed the *Point of the birch-trees*,

Point

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Point prime, and *pinette*, we came to the last plantation in the island, and in all these different places, including *Port de la Joye*, we reckoned a thousand three hundred and fifty four inhabitants.

Though the settlements on the island of St. John increase every day by the arrival of Acadians and others, yet a considerable quantity of land, as good as that we have been describing, remains still uncultivated. There is no doubt but the same advantage might be derived from this as from any other part; and with a little care this island might be rendered as serviceable as Acadia.

Indeed the winter is very long, and the cold intense. If you stir out in the frost, you are in danger of perishing in a quarter of an hour; and the snow falls so heavy, that it frequently lies four feet deep in four and twenty hours. Flies and musquetoes are likewise a great inconveniency. These abominable insects darken the air, and fasten themselves on the leaves of trees, especially in the woods;

woods; yet it has been observed, that in proportion as the lands are manured, and the country is peopled, the number of these insects diminishes. But granting they are very troublesome, I want to know what place in the world, is exempt from all inconveniency? And is not this we have been mentioning, sufficiently compensated by the advantages that might easily be derived from so promising a colony? Sure I am, that notwithstanding this barren description, you would be glad to peruse it regularly once a week, on condition of being invested with the property of the island of St. John; and you would soon find your account. I wish it with all my heart, and am, SIR, Yours, &c.

L E T T E R VI.

Of the different animals on both islands; of the cod-fishery; of the French manner of curing it, and of the glue made of fish, &c.

S I R,

PURsuant to the order I proposed at first setting out, it is incumbent upon me,

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after giving you a description of the island of St. John, to entertain you with that of the inhabitants. In this number I include all animated bodies. But in order to preserve the gradation in which nature has placed the human species, I shall begin with that being, to which we have given the name of animal by way of preference, though it too often happens that the distinction is only verbal.

You have not lost memory of the honourable mention I made of domestic animals, in taking notice of the labour of their masters. There are horned cattle, and beasts of burden in this country, and much of the same form and make as those in Europe. They likewise enjoy in part the fruit of their labour; though there is no merit in the indulgence, because it is necessary, and attended with greater advantages here than any where else. The manuring of waste lands, and the changing them into gardens or ploughed fields, requires that a proper care should be taken of the useful animals employed for this pur-

the different Animals, &c. 99

pole; and pasture found for their subsistence. It remains therefore that I say something to you of those animals, for which we have no manner of regard, though they contribute to our food and raiment. There are some you are not acquainted with, of which number is the beaver, and I make no doubt but you would be glad to have some knowledge of those animals. Indeed the accounts that have been given of them is not at all fabulous. Nothing can be compared to their sagacity and artful contrivance. I must confess that upon observing the order, industry, and exact subordination that prevails among them, I have said to myself, though these creatures have not perhaps a soul like ours, surely with so unerring an instinct they are no great losers. Yet instead of admiring them for arts which we have only borrowed of them, we go and disturb them in the midst of their work, in which they display all the ingenuity of able architects. Indeed I am oftentimes grieved at this, and I had much rather be without knowing that their

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skin is of use for covering my head and feet, or for other purposes, and that their flesh is of a delicate taste, than be so ill-natured as to disturb them. But since it is not in my power to preserve them from so cruel a fate, I must benefit by their misfortunes like the rest of mankind; and indeed the savages would still continue to destroy them here and in other places, were I to preach for ever against their barbarity.

I shall much more readily resign all the large game, the hunting of which is the favourite and almost only occupation of those people. Their bears are much the same as those in Europe; some of them are white. Their fat, or rather their oil, is very good to eat; and the flesh of the young bears is a perfect dainty.

The *original* is as large as a mule, with very thick hair, of a dark brown colour in summer, and almost intirely white in winter.

A great many are of opinion that this is the same animal as in other places is called the *elk*.

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the different Animals, &c. 101

The *caribou* is a kind of deer, whose head, as well as that of the original, is ornamented with very large horns like a stag, and the branches are almost flat. The flesh of this beast is eatable, but they prefer that of the original; and indeed it makes as good soup as beef. As there is no species of animal, but what hath its natural enemy, besides man, that of the original is the *quincajou*. This creature resembles a large cat; his hair is of a red brown; and the tail so very long, that when he turns it up, it makes two or three curls on his back. This is his offensive weapon. With it he entwines the poor animal, after first seizing him with his paws, then he bites him in the neck under the ear, and does not let go his hold, till the original drops down dead. But do not imagine that the *quincajou* alone has the honour of an engagement, in appearance so unequal; he acts in conjunction with the fox, who facilitates the attack by surprizing or decoying the enemy. Thus you see it is not our species alone that gets the better of force by cunning

ning and stratagem; nature is uniform throughout the whole range of beings; and doubtless to render us more sensible of her liberality in the dispensation of favours, she distributes evil with the same impartiality. The savages have a surprising acuteness in tracing the original. They can distinguish by the scent whether it be male or female, young or old, and at what distance; neither do they lose scent of it, even if they were to follow it several days.

They reduce the bones of this animal to a powder, and afterwards boil it in water. They gather the fat that comes upon the surface, and from thence extract five or six pounds of a kind of tallow, as white as snow, and as firm as wax. This is their provision when they are upon the chase: they call it *abcame*, and *we ariggal butter*.

They have a great number of lynxes, whose flesh tastes like veal. Their porcupines, otters, martens, *wisens*, *picbous*, *roe-bucks*, and musk-rats, are not only very good eating, but afford excellent furs. I shall wave giving you a description of these

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animals; this has been done to your hand by such a number of authors, that the repetition would be altogether needless.

With regard to small game, they have plenty of turtle-doves, and of excellent quality in July and August; as also black-birds, *pieux-rouges*, and larks, with *corbejeaux* very near as large as wood-cocks, with much the same beak, and three sorts of partridges; the first like ours, the second as big as a pheasant, and the third something like a water-wag-tail. Their ortolans are as good as those in Provence. Their hares are smaller than those in France, grey in summer, and white in winter. As for snipes and wood-cocks, I observed to you already that they have their share.

The coast round these islands swarms a part of the year, especially in spring and autumn, with all sorts of wild fowl, as bustards, *crevans*, cormorants, wild-ducks, *canards branchus*, a very fine bird, teal, *moyaques*, *cataouis*, *marbatus*, *cataos*, *cannet de roches*, *goelans*, *esterlets*, *margots*, *golles*,

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sea pigeons, *peringouins* *, and a great many other sorts, the names of which I omit for brevity, intending to make you acquainted with them when you are upon the spot. Yet I will mention a word or two in particular of some of these animals.

The bustard lays its eggs only every other year, and changes its feathers during the year of repose : but as it does not begin to hatch till its fourth year ; in order to repair the loss of time, it lays fifteen or sixteen eggs at a time. Unfortunately it builds its nest in low marshy places, and great numbers of them are destroyed by the foxes. It grows as tame as a goose ; and then it is much better eating than those wild birds of the same species.

The *crevant* is a bird of passage, smaller than the bustard, and better eating than a wild-duck. The *goisland* is bigger than a pigeon, and lives upon fish. The eggs of these birds are very good to eat, except those of the cormorant.

All these different sorts of birds fly over

* The above birds are local and confined to that country, so that we have no English names for them.

in large flocks to the *islands of birds*, which belong to the English, in order to lay their eggs there in the spring. They generally range themselves on the white point within a quarter of a league of Louisburg. There is then such plenty of game, that you may hear a thousand musket shots in a day.

This kind of sport is a great relief to the inhabitants, who are generally in want of fresh provisions this time of the year; though most of these wild-fowls have a kind of oily taste, owing to the fish and the *goimond*, their constant food. The *goimond* is a large glutinous weed, of a yellow-brown, which the sea throws up along the coast.

Fish being one of the chief productions of these islands, deserves our particular notice, especially the cod-fish, which is the principal support of their trade.

The rivers and lakes in the inner parts of these islands, abound with very good salmon, trout, eels and smelts: the sea produceth thorn-back, tench, plenty of shad-fish, sturgeon, plaice, mackerel, gaspa-

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Sparaux, a species of mackerel, but something smaller; bace as firm and as large as pike, and the flesh as firm and as white; herrings on the side of Labrador, whales, oysters, lobsters, muscles, cockles, &c.

All along the coast they catch plenty of sea-wolves, porpoises, sea-cows, and sometimes whales. From these fishes they extract the oil, and another thing, the use of which you are as well acquainted with as I.

There have been instances of a glue made of *requiens*; and it is presumed they might extract it from all sorts of rough-skinned fish, as well as from porpoise, scuttle-fish, sea-monsters, and other fish without scales. As the method of preparing it is very little known, I shall make you acquainted with it; and this I can affirm, that if ever you come to use it here, you will find it will answer your expectation. And indeed if they were to apply themselves hard to this kind of glue, France might soon dispense with that which at present she is obliged to import from Holland and the Levant. Though the subject

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at first sight seems to be but of small importance, yet it will appear in a different light to those, who know of what consequence it is to a kingdom, not to be obliged for necessities to any other country whatever.

They take the skins of the abovementioned fishes, with their fins, tails, heads, cartilages, in short the whole body of the fish, except the flesh and the fat or oil. All these they boil in water, taking care to preserve it from the smoke, or from any thing that might discolour the liquor. When it is boiled down, and the water has extracted all the substance of the fishy parts, they let it stand to grow cool, and then strain the liquor either through a sieve or a piece of linnen. Then they boil this liquor over again with the same precaution, till the drops that fall grow hard and consistent as soon as they cool. When they can judge from thence that the glue is made, they let it cool a little, but not so as to hinder it from running on the tables of stone or slate upon which they pour it.

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For want of such conveniency, several other things may be contrived to receive it, taking care however to put paper over it, and to raise the edges of the paper, because the glue ought to spread itself, and to rise without fastening to any other substance. As soon as it is become consistent, it is twisted round like paste, and strunged in order to hang up in rows in the shade: and when they are obliged to make it upon paper it is not taken off, but they either twist the paper along with the glue, or else they do not twist it at all. ~~and~~ The glue made in this manner is more or less perfect, according as they take more or less care to clarify it, and make it keep its colour. It intirely dissolves in water, without leaving the least mark behind it.

But since I have begun to reveal our secrets, I must inform you of the manner in which we cure our cod, which we catch in shallops during the summer; and you will soon perceive that it is preferable to that of our neighbours. The shallops come ashore every day, and

and the fishermen throw the cod upon a stage prepared for that purpose. One of them, who is called the beheader, opens the fish with a two-edged knife, sharp-pointed; then he breaks the head, and parts it from the body. Another pushes the fish on to the carver, who stands opposite to him at a table erected upon the stage. The latter with a single edged knife, six inches long, eighteen lines in breadth, and very thick towards the back in order to increase its weight, draws the skin off two-thirds of the body near the head, and lets the cod tumble into a barrel. The salter immediately draws it aside, and places it with the skin undermost. Then he covers it with salt, but very slightly, and lays the fish regularly one upon another.

After leaving the cod in salt three or four days, and sometimes eight or longer, according to the season, they put it into a tub, and wash it well. Afterwards they heap it up in piles, which they call *pate* or *arime*. In fine weather they stretch it out with the skin undermost, on a kind of wattles

THE DESCRIPTION OF

wattles called *vignaux*, raised about two feet from the ground, or upon stones called *graves*. Before night they turn the skit uppermost, which they also do whenever it rains. When the fish hath been dried a little, it is laid in bundles of five or six, always with the skin uppermost in the night time and in bad weather. Thus it continues to lie for a shorter or longer time, according as the weather permits, till it is half dry. Then it is raised into orbicular piles, or in the form of pigeon-houses. In this position it continues for some days, after which it is exposed to the open air, and turned according as there is occasion, before they raise it into large piles in the same form, in which manner it sometimes remains fifteen days without being either turned or stretched out. Once more they expose it to the open air, and when it is almost dry, they gather it together, in order to sweat. Then they remove it again to another place, an operation which the French call *recapiler*.

In short, the cod cured in this manner,

the different Animals, &c. III

is generally fair to the eye and good to the taste, more or less however according to the time that has been bestowed, and to the ability and diligence of the person employed in the preparation.

The fish cured in spring and before the great heats is commonly the fairest to the eye, and best tasted, especially when it has been properly salted. Too much salt makes it white, but subject withal to break, and to appear humid in bad weather. The *lingard*, which is said to be the male of the cod, is by far the best and the most delicate of the whole species.

The cod caught in autumn, that is in October, November, and December, and sometimes in January, continues in salt to the end of March or the beginning of April. Then it is washed, and undergoes the process above described. Yet it is not saltier than the other, though it be not so much esteemed; for there is no doubt but the right method of curing this sort of fish depends on the proper utensils, as well as on the season of the year, and the dexterity

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terity of the persons concerned in the operation.

The boats that are employed at sea from twenty to forty days, in this fishery, take off the head of the cod, and slice it on board, and as soon as the fishermen get to shore, they follow the abovementioned receipt. I have given you the particulars, because I think it very essential for those who have any intention of trading in these parts, to be thoroughly acquainted with this principal branch of commerce.

The English manner of curing the cod-fish is very different from ours; neither is it of so good a quality; first of all, because the salt they make use of being of a mineral nature, is consequently more corrosive, and gives it an acrimonious taste; in the next place, because they do not take so much pains. It is true likewise that they are at less expence, and they catch a greater quantity. Hence it is that they supply all Spain, Italy, and even the West-Indies. To those countries they transport a vast deal of fish, and sell it much cheaper than

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than the French do theirs, who indeed send but very little to those markets. The English carry on this trade even to Louisburg; and notwithstanding its being an article expressly prohibited, yet whether it be that those in power connive at it, or that they do not take sufficient precaution, the contraband trade continues. On the other hand, it is certain that the French fish being more esteemed by the English, the latter buy up a large quantity of the former, in order to gratify the most delicate palates. Would it not be therefore a much better way, for both nations to use equal care and skill, to the end that they might reap equal advantages? I know you are too candid not to allow this truth, and at the same time too good natured to disregard my diligence, though I may not be so happy as to afford you sufficient amusement.

I am, Sir, &c.

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LETTER VII.

Of the savages, and their manners, &c. Of the means which the French make use of in order to draw them over to their party.

S I R,

WERE I to be directed by the idea which most Europeans have formed of the savages, I should represent them to you only as part of the productions of the islands I have been describing; but far am I from having the least particle of that ridiculous self-love, which usurps to itself an exclusive right to reason. This is a faculty I had almost granted to beavers; and indeed in many respects we are surpassed by those animals. I will therefore take upon me to say that the savages are upon an equality with ourselves. Yet it is not merely to prove this assertion, or to satisfy your curiosity, that I enter upon the present discussion concerning these people. To be acquainted with a nation whose principles and customs differ so widely from ours, is a matter of great importance, whenever we intend to enter into any treaty

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or commerce with them. Our neighbours the English, whose manners are not so engaging as ours, have neglected this point, without reaping such advantage from their conduct, as excites us to follow their example. Neither ought we to be surprized that the savages should shew less affection towards the English than towards us, though the latter are capable of doing them as much good as ourselves; if we reflect that to conciliate the benevolence of a people, we ought surely to be directed by a regard to their humour and inclination. Neither will I pretend to say that the French have made themselves intirely masters of this art in regard to the savages. Most travellers have presented us either with too high, or too low an idea of these people. Nothing but conversing with them, and carefully studying their manners, can prevent our splitting upon one of these two rocks, which are both alike to be dreaded. And yet this is generally the fate of those superficial observers, who find it more convenient to express either the highest admiration, or

the most solemn contempt, for what they have neither inclination nor abilities to penetrate.

Though the external habit and customs of the savages may appear barbarous to us, yet it is not true that their inward sentiments deserve that appellation. Neither is their manner of life exempt from all those defects, by which our social happiness is so often disturbed. They have only the advantage of being subject to fewer of those defects than we: yet as they generally behave with the greatest calmness, while we are apt to be whirled and tost by a storm of passions; it is extremely difficult to find the touch-stone, whereby we may distinguish when they fall only into an error of the understanding, or are guilty of a corruption of the heart. No other way is there of coming at it, than by making a nice subtraction of every sentiment unnecessary to the wants and preservation of the individual. But to distinguish the gifts of nature from the prejudices of education, is perhaps the most difficult task of all, for one who has im-

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bibed those very prejudices from his infancy. Hence arises that pity which we think due to our fellow creatures, whom we look upon as bereft of the comforts of life : but this is only because we cannot consider those comforts, as altogether foreign to the happiness of people who have no idea of them.

The savages were perhaps the only happy creatures upon earth, before the knowledge of idle objects, not in the least connected with the preservation of the individual, had altered the simplicity of their inclinations and desires. Notwithstanding that our prejudices of this kind have as yet made no great progress amongst them, yet if they could divest themselves of those few which they have learnt of us, they would not think themselves obliged to us for our so much boasted favours.

A mixture of manners the most opposite, such as a brutal fury, joined to that amiable softness which does honour to humanity, appeared to us at first a monstrous assemblage. Yet we might have observed, that this characteristic of a savage was a con-

sequence of that same principle, or instinct of preservation and self-defence; a principle which circumstances make us consider as variable, though it neither is, nor can be such, but by human contrivance. They who will dispute this truth with me, need only to prove that we have cured those people of their vices, or improved their virtues. It is true, we have made them alter their customs, but surely they are no gainers by the change. Be that as it may, I must describe them to you such as they are.

So strong and so general is their aversion to despotic power, that we can consider it in no other light than as a passion founded in nature; and if we consult our own breasts, we shall readily fall into this opinion; therefore here it is that we ought to act with the greatest circumspection. Force will never do; they will yield to nothing but persuasion. There is very little risk in using gentle means, because you are always sure of prevailing with a savage by reason. The light of nature operates much more effectually with them than with us.

Hence

Hence it is that although they know nothing of precepts or subordination, yet they enjoy almost every advantage derived to us from a well regulated authority. Their laws and their customs are imprinted in their hearts, and always flow from the dictates of good sense, unless this internal voice should happen to be silenced by their necessities. Then instead of having recourse to constraint, which would only increase the flame, the way either to satisfy, or to prevent those necessities, would be to appeal to reason. This method of subduing their wills, must ever meet with success. But in order to obtain this kind of empire, it will be necessary first to gain their esteem; for they never confide in a person, for whom they have not a value. Upon observing the least contradiction between the example and the instruction of their teachers, they would consider it as a design to impose upon them; which they never forgive. And though it be certain that a person intirely possessed of their esteem, might conduct them with great

ease; yet this esteem is very difficult to obtain. I make no doubt but you will laugh at me, when I inform you that the savages are at least as complete judges of merit, as those who pretend most to that kind of knowledge amongst us; and yet nothing is more true. They have a method of judging, which to us appears equally defective and ridiculous, because it has been too strictly reduced to the rules of art. It cannot be said with them, that physiognomy is deceitful; for in this respect they are hardly ever mistaken in their judgment. They have an excellent taste this way; and I believe for the following reason. They have none of those external appearances that deceive us; none of that ambition which dazzles the minds of those, who with envy behold the golden chain. Interest with them being only a view relative to their present wants, which are but few, may be considered rather as a momentary instinct, than a passion attended with danger. No wonder therefore, if being devoid of those factitious passions, that have enfeeble

feebled the power of sensation (a power which perhaps was designed by Providence to supply the want of reflection) they have preserved the force thereof whole and intire; if consulting only the dictates of nature, they distinguish its operations much better than we, whose attention is divided among an infinite number of objects; and if resigning themselves to her guidance, they are acquainted perfectly with all her steps.

Indeed we have been no great gainers by depriving them of part of this knowledge, and of this simplicity. Surprized at the inequality of conditions of which they had no idea, no more than of power distinct from merit, they might have been dazzled at first by this outward pomp, but it was only for a little while, till their admiration was changed by some new object. Therefore if the English were to contrive something more striking than those different shows, by which we endeavour to gain their affections; we should instantly lose our whole influence on all those, whom we had not taken more proper means to subdue, namely,

namely, by convincing the mind, as well as by winning the heart.

Of all those means, which alone are capable of having any permanent success, religion is undoubtedly the most effectual; and yet there must be particular care taken in the manner of exerting it. The tenets of our holy religion being invariable, cannot be rendered subservient to the inclinations of those, to whom we would willingly recommend it; this I grant you is beyond all doubt: but our ceremonies and religious forms may be adapted to their weakness. The savages being all upon an equality, consequently devoid of ambition, or jealousy of ranks and honours; living in the state of nature, and of course confining their desires to the preservation of the individual, have need of a worship that shall fill up those vacant moments, which are not employed in providing for their wants. They were already possessed of a method of filling up those moments, before we were acquainted with them; and when we attempt to change their amusements, we should

have

have a regard to those inclinations, which induced them to prefer our form and method of worship. These people had the knowledge of a deity, whether they derived it from the light of reason only, or had formerly received it from the same revelation as ourselves. The latter opinion might be grounded on several traditions, which notwithstanding their being disfigured by fables, bear a considerable resemblance in the main to our religion. We can trace the history of the deluge, of the creation, of the fall of Adam, of the immortality of the soul, and even of the redemption of man. There are several who have attempted to unravel their confused principles, and whimsical superstitions. But as I should tell you nothing new, were I to enter upon a tedious repetition of these different articles; I shall therefore only point out the use we may make of them.

In the first place, we may derive from thence great comfort to ourselves, and be strengthened in our faith: for whether we
sup-

suppose that the light of nature supplied them with the same ideas as ourselves; or whether they were indebted for them, as we are, to the assistance of revelation; it must be agreed on all hands, that whatever we are naturally taught by reason to believe, is incontestable; and that which is universally assented to, must be built on a solid foundation. You will easily judge that what I am mentioning here, must be more particularly meant of the knowledge of a deity, and the nature of the human soul, than of other points that have been frequently determined by fancy and caprice.

Secondly, in consequence of the traces we find of those same whims and capricious inclinations, we may determine the worship most suitable to the savages; and all prejudice apart, this is undoubtedly the worship of the church of Rome. What would become of those poor creatures whose active genius cannot take up with those different scenes of intrigue and interest which engross our attention; what would

be-

become of them, I say, during their intervals of repose, when they are no longer busied in satisfying, or providing for their natural wants? Prayers and religious ceremonies, which awe the mind and engage the attention, are alone capable of supplying the place of those superstitions, which we have banished from amongst them; and the loss of which they would regret, did we not substitute something in their stead. The single article of confession is absolutely necessary. The influence acquired by this practice, appears to them as a kind of voluntary subjection, the only one they are capable of bearing; and rivets their chains in so strong a manner, that they submit to the weight for the good of their souls, while they consider it at the same time as a kind of relaxation. And this is one reason of the inclination of the savages in favour of the French. True it is that our enemies may make a proper use of it, not only by suffering those people to enjoy the free exercise of a religion to which they have given the preference, but moreover

by

by confirming them in their inclination to this worship, as it may even redound to their own advantage.

I speak here merely as a politician in giving this counsel; and I make no doubt but our people will find their account in following it. The business would be to appoint such missionaries for the savages subject to our dominion, as are incapable of separating the interest of religion from that of the prince; by which means they would more surely deprive the enemy of all possibility of drawing them astray. You will be still more convinced of the necessity of this policy, when I shall have given you a full account of the several customs and manners of the savages; and I promise to entertain you upon this subject in my next letter. At present there remains nothing further for me, than to renew the usual protestations with which I declare myself,

Yours, &c.

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L E T T E R VIII.

The manners, character, and ceremonies of the savages continued, and of their method of expressing themselves. Speech of a Mick-mac savage.

S I R,

AFTER having given you my opinion of the savages in my last, it remains now for me to demonstrate on what that opinion is founded. Even their customs and ceremonies are alone sufficient to prove my point. But these have been so often and so copiously handled by other writers, that I shall confine myself to those by which they are chiefly characterized. And perhaps I shall give you a more exact account, because I have been eye-witness to the greatest part of them myself; yet they are all relative, as well those which I intend to describe, as those which I shall omit, to the plain dictates of nature, by which alone, as I mentioned to you before, the savages are directed.

We generally form a judgment of the inclinations of mankind from the nature of their

their pleasures and amusements; and it is in those moments designed for joy, that we pry into the secrets of their hearts. Let us therefore begin with the description of an entertainment, which the savages give to one another in the case of ceremonial visits, either as friends, relations, or allies, or as deputies from one nation to another. There is no doubt but on these occasions they manifest a kind of ostentation, which, one would imagine, implies some degree of vanity and pride: but as their pomp is founded in objects immediately connected with the senses, and not in things of imaginary or arbitrary value, they do not deviate from the principle above established.

The person who receives this sort of visits, and intends to shew a regard to his guest, does not display his rich cup-board, a sight that rather mortifies the spectator. His aim is not to please the eye of his friend, but to satisfy his desires. The savage therefore hath no notion of acquiring esteem by a display of his riches, but by sharing them with his friend. The fruits

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of a whole year's chace, that has cost him an infinite deal of fatigue, he frequently distributes among his friends in a single day; and these distributions are made with far greater joy on the part of the donour than of the receiver.

After these presents, which are given with a tone of voice that enhances their value, comes the entertainment. The principal dish consists of the several dogs he has killed; for this is with them a dish of ceremony. You see, Sir, there is no disputing of tastes; not but that this may be every whit as good as a great many others to which we are accustomed. Besides, who knows but that the savages, who are all naturalists, have discovered that dog's flesh is capable of transfusing into the blood that instinct of fidelity, which we attribute to this animal? Who can tell but they chuse it for their food, to remind them of a virtue so necessary to be exerted on these occasions? And indeed as they never do any thing without a cause, I think it more reasonable to suppose they act through a

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motive of this kind, than to ridicule an action, which is no more an object of laughter than many of our European customs.

In the middle of the cottage belonging to the person who gives the entertainment, a large copper is set, in which the victuals are dressed. The guests bring with them each man a large bason made of the bark of a tree, which bason they call an *ouragan*. Then they carve the meat, and the portions being equally divided, they add another lesser *ouragan*, filled with sea-wolf's oil. Being all served in this manner, they eat their bit of dog, dipping it into the oil. But do not imagine that they eat in the French manner, that is, by stunning one with eternal clack; no, they sit in profound silence before they utter a word. After they have eat sufficiently, and drunk what oil is left, and wiped their hands with their towel, which is no other than their hair, they make a signal, and the women enter. Immediately each woman takes away her husband's plate; and they retire by themselves to eat the fragments. In

In the mean time the eldest in company falls, or pretends to fall into a kind of revery, that lasts about a quarter of an hour, during which time they take care not to disturb him. He then orders pipes and tobacco. He lights his own first, puts it for a moment to his mouth, and then offers it to the next in rank. They all perform the same ceremony, and conclude with smoking in the utmost tranquillity.

The pipes are hardly half out, when the leading person in company rises to return thanks to the host. But as this ceremony alone is capable of shewing you, that the savages have no ideas but such as are relative to the passions or inclinations above mentioned, I will give you an abridgment of it.

Yet I must previously acquaint you with their particular manner of expression, which would otherwise occasion your surprize. The language of the savages, and particularly of those I am acquainted with, viz. the Mickmacks, Malechites, and Abenakis, bears a great resemblance to the oriental tongues.

The same copiousness of expression, the same turn of phrase, the same turgidity of stile, the same strain of metaphor and allegory. Some would infer from thence that the inhabitants of this new world are descended from the Tartars; a notion not destitute of probability. Be that as it may, the following is the speech or thanksgiving made by our grateful savage.

“ O thou, who heapest thy favours on us,
 “ who excitest the transports of our grati-
 “ tude, thou art like unto a tree, whose
 “ wide-spreading roots support a thousand
 “ little branches. Thou art like unto a be-
 “ nefactor whom we meet with on the bor-
 “ ders of a lake: thou resemblest the turpen-
 “ tine tree, which in all seasons imparteth its
 “ juice. Thou may’st be compared to those
 “ mild pleasant days, which we sometimes
 “ behold in the middle of the rudest
 “ winters, and whose benign influence
 “ gladdens our hearts. Thou art great in
 “ thyself, and so much th. more, as the
 “ remembrance of the signal exploits of thy
 “ ancestors does not degrade thee. And in-
 “ deed

the Savages, Manners, &c. 133

“ deed thy great great-grandfather, whose
“ memory is still recent amongst us, was
“ conspicuous for his skill and agility
“ as a huntsman. What wonders did not
“ he perform in the jovial chase, and in
“ pursuing the *originals* and the *caribous*?
“ His art in catching those animals was
“ not superior to ours; but he had a par-
“ ticular agility in coming upon them by
“ surprize. At the same time he flew at
“ them with such rapidity, that notwith-
“ standing they have such great strength and
“ activity, and are even better able to skip
“ over snowy mountains with their legs,
“ than we with our rackets, yet he used
“ to run them down. He would after-
“ wards bleed them himself, and feast us
“ with their blood; then he fleeced them,
“ and gave us the whole body of the
“ beast.

“ But if thy great great-grandfather used
“ to distinguish himself in this kind of chase,
“ what feats hath not thy great-grand-
“ father done in the hunting of beavers?
“ He outstripped the industry of those

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" animals that are almost equal to men.
 " By his frequent watchings round their
 " huts, and by the repeated alarms with
 " which he used to beat up their haunts
 " even in one night, he knew how to
 " oblige them to retire to their form, or
 " bed, by which means he calculated the
 " number which he had seen in the day.
 " Nothing could equal his sagacity, for he
 " could tell when they would come to load
 " their tails with earth, and to cut such
 " particular shrubs with their sharp teeth,
 " in order to raise their dikes. Nothing
 " could be more surprizing than his fa-
 " culty of distinguishing in what spot
 " those animals were housed. In regard
 " to thy great-grandfather, was not he a
 " most clever man at making gins for
 " linxes and martens? He had particular
 " secrets to oblige these animals to run
 " into his snares, preferably to those
 " of others. He had likewise so great a
 " quantity of furs, that he was never at a
 " loss to oblige his friends. Let us come
 " to thy grandfather, who has made a
 " thou-

“ thousand presents of sea-wolves to the
“ youths of his time. How often have we
“ had the pleasure of greasing our hair
“ with oil upon those happy occasions in
“ his cottage? How often has he invited,
“ and even forced us to go home with him,
“ upon our returning with empty canoes,
“ in order to repair the damage we had
“ sustained? But did not thy father distin-
“ guish himself in every branch? Was not
“ he thoroughly possessed of the art of
“ shooting at game, either flying, or at
“ rest; and was not he always sure of his
“ aim? But above all he was excellent in
“ drawing the bustards towards his statues.
“ We are all of us pretty well versed in
“ the art of counterfeiting the cry of those
“ animals; but he surpassed us in parti-
“ cular inflections of the voice, so as to ren-
“ der it difficult to distinguish his cry from
“ that of a bustard; as he excelled in other
“ finesses by which he was sure to succeed.
“ We were all ashamed, whenever he
“ returned from the chace. True it is,
“ that the use he made of his plenty

" of game, banished all envy from our
 " breasts, and filled us with sentiments
 " of gratitude.

" In regard to the encomiums I might
 " bestow on thyself, I confess, that loaded
 " as I have been with the favours thou
 " hast just now conferred upon me, I want
 " words to express them. Therefore thou
 " may'st read my sentiments in my looks,
 " and be satisfied with the thanks which I
 " give thee, by squeezing thy hand."

This speech being ended, another savage
 stands up, and abridges it. He commends
 the eloquence, with which the other has
 celebrated the ancestors of their generous
 host. He says that he has nothing further
 to add to his encomiums; but at the same
 time, he considers that the principal task
 has been left to himself, which is to cele-
 brate the festivity with songs and dances.
 Then he desires the host to look upon every
 step he is going to make in cadence, as
 a transport of his gratitude, and at the
 same time he begins to dance with all his
 agility. After this dance, to which all the
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spectators beat due measure, he begins his panegyric on the feast, and on the worthy host. This speech dwells on the same points of merit that were celebrated in the former discourse, and is terminated by a second dance. Each guest takes his turn in the same manner, and the gratitude of the whole company differs only according to the genius of the person that expresses it.

Do not you think, Sir, that this is in great measure a copy of the harangues of our celebrated masters in philosophy and eloquence? This savage, who makes the first speech, and the others that pay approbation to it, by improving on what he has said, do not they resemble our Academicians, who offer incense to each other in the most fulsome manner? I find only one difference, which is that the savages bestow their encomiums only upon necessary merit; whereas we lavish ours on things the most absurd and ridiculous: and moreover they enliven their adulations with elegant allegory; whereas ours is generally a most fulsome and insipid dawbing.

Besides,

Besides, Sir, would it not be of infinite use to our parasites, if they were to come and take instructions of these innocent people? You would not then find them so ready to calumniate the generous hand that feeds them; nor so prone to the detestable vice of adulation, which instead of promoting the interest of their benefactor, only hurries him to his destruction.

But I beg you will likewise take into your consideration, the great use that may be made of this liberality and gratitude of the savages. Nothing is more easy than to gain the hearts of the generous and good natured; yet in the present case, the facility is increased by the cheapness of the means. Since we are often put to an immense expence, in order to procure allies, who instead of being really attached to our interest, only shew us an outward friendship; how generous ought we to be, where so small a matter is sufficient to obtain the alliance and amity of men, who are more friendly disposed, more sincere, and at the
same

the Savages, Manners, &c. 139

same time equally capable of doing us service? This indeed is a point not much attended to: fain would we exercise one of their predominant inclinations; but we are too apt to neglect the other, which is necessarily connected with the former. We endeavour to ruin and destroy a people, whom we might easily gain over to our interest by this method. I hope that this will be at last hit upon; and if the reflections which have interrupted the thread of my narrative, and with which I intend to conclude this letter, should in any wise contribute thereto, I shall not be at all sorry for anticipating yours. I have the honour of being, &c.

L E T T E R IX.

The manners of the savages continued; of their feasts, and councils. Speech of a female savage; of their wars, and stratagems.

S I R,

DO not imagine you have done with my savage entertainment. I intend
to

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to trouble you further with a very interesting circumstance, as it regards a sex that has a right to engage our attention. In this respect the savages are not so barbarous by far, as nations that consider themselves qualified to instruct these poor people in the principles of civil society. They admit the women into all their parties of pleasure, which indeed may be said to terminate in that amiable part of the creation. True it is, that their women make a very good use of this privilege: for you are not to imagine that they taint their husbands with effeminacy, or with any thing tending to enervate their courage: far from it; the notions they instil are of a very different kind, as you shall presently be convinced.

The men having thanked their host, the women make their appearance. They are introduced by the eldest in company, who holds a large piece of the bark of a birch tree in her hand, the very hardest that can be found, and using it as a kind of tabour (though the sound be somewhat disagreeable to the ear) she excites the young people

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people to dance. After which she makes a speech in her turn, addressing herself to the men.

" You who look upon me as of a frail
" sex, and of course subordinate to you
" in all its wants; know that in my own
" sphere, the Creator has endued me with
" abilities and accomplishments fully equi-
" valent to yours. I have been the mother
" of great warriors, of excellent huntsmen,
" of voyagers who have been expert and
" defatigable in the use of their canoes.
" This hand which you behold now wi-
" thered, has more than once plunged the
" poniard into the bosoms of prisoners,
" who were delivered up to me for my
" diversion. The woods and the banks of
" rivers can attest, that they have seen
" me pluck out the heart, the entrails,
" and the tongue of enemies committed to
" my avenging hand: they can tell whe-
" ther I have changed colour; or whether
" my courage was in the least daunted,
" when I was called upon to serve my
" country. How often have I bedecked
" my-

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" myself and my daughters with the scalps
 " of those traitors? How strongly have I
 " encouraged our young people to bring
 " me those marks of their valour, for
 " which they were to be rewarded with
 " honour and glory?

" I have done something more; for I
 " have removed every difficulty that ob-
 " structed those marriages which were
 " founded in love; and Heaven has blest
 " my endeavours. All the matches of my
 " making have been successful; they have
 " been productive of men, who were the
 " props of the nation, men capable of
 " perpetuating our race, and of screen-
 " ing us from the insults of our ene-
 " mies. I am like those old fir-trees,
 " full of knots from the upper bough to
 " the root; the very bark of which drops
 " off with age, though it covers their
 " internal juice. No longer am I what
 " I formerly was. My skin is all wrinkled
 " and furrowed; and my very bones do
 " almost pierce through me on every side.
 " As to my external part, I appear to be a

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"useless being; but the courage which
"still inspires me, is as deserving as ever
"of the esteem of all my acquaintance."

After this eulogium upon her own person, which is generally founded in truth, and so far respectable; the old woman adds a word of thanks to the founder of the feast. But in time of war, and during the preparatory solemnities, it is quite a different thing. Then the women use all their eloquence, and the charms of their persons, to encourage those warriors that are getting ready for battle. Each, according as they are more or less excited, requires a certain number of the enemy's scalps from her lover; and they assure the men that they will grant no favours but to those who shall be possessed of such testimonies of courage.

I shall not trouble you, Sir, with a detail of those foolish ceremonies, previous to a declaration of war, which the savages used to practise in the times of idolatry; you will find them described at full length in authors, that have written the history of these

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these people. Besides, will it not be easy for you to form an idea of their absurdity, from the knowledge you have of the superstition of other nations? Could it be understood of these people only, that fear and hope had given birth to the gods, determined different worships, and consecrated superstition?

But what I intend to recommend to your observation, is the manner in which they used to begin, and do still begin hostilities.

The people that act upon the offensive, make an inroad upon the lands of the nation they intend to attack. There they commit all the havock possible, destroying the present game, demolishing all the beavers huts, and breaking up the roads, which are none of the best. After these operations they hold a council of war, at which the men think, reflect, project, and determine; while they are excited and encouraged by the women.

The result of this council is to send and declare war against those people, to whom they have already done such a deal of mischief,

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chief, and who are therefore to consider it as duly and properly declared.

They send off two different sorts of heralds. These carry along with them their bow and quiver, with their arrows and stone hatchets. Thus accoutered, they set out for the chief habitation of the enemy, and take care not to apprize any body upon the road of their intention, or even to open their mouth. Then they halt within a certain distance of the village, and strike the ground several times with their hatchets. In consequence of this signal, the enemy know that their lands have been ravaged, and that they are henceforward to be upon their guard for the safety of their persons. In the mean time the heralds, after shooting two of their best arrows against the village, return very quickly to give an account of their errand; and in order to prove their having been at the place appointed, they bring along with them such marks as put it beyond all manner of doubt.

One day I asked a savage for what reason they did not declare war before they

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committed hostilities; and how they came to trouble themselves afterwards with so useless a ceremony? What, answered he, would you have us be such fools, as to give our enemy time to fill their magazines, and to deprive ourselves of the means of drawing provisions from their territory? Is it not sufficient for us to forewarn them to defend their persons? The declaration of war, so necessary for mutual preservation, should not be a foolish civility, such as the custom of European nations has made it.

I leave you to judge, Sir, whether the good sense contained in this argument, ought to supersede, or give way to the established laws of civilized nations? But I foresee that this question will be some time or other determined by abler masters.

In the mean time the savages being apprized by word and deed of the intention of their enemy, think on both sides, either of maintaining their ground, or of removing themselves to a better spot, or of meeting one another in the field. In order to determine upon the properest of these

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three, they hold both long and frequent debates.

These councils however are extremely entertaining, being a matter of curiosity and importance. As the savages are directed by reason only, and have no other view than the public good, being no way biassed either by ambition or private interest; he who is most skilled in the military art, and most capable of conducting an enterprize, presides on those occasions. If the person who has hitherto possessed the confidence of the nation, perceives that another is more deserving of it than himself, he resigns his authority to him without the least difficulty. But you will ask me, how is it possible for him to perceive this difference? What a question! Is there any greater difficulty in confessing that we are devoid of a certain qualification possessed by another, than in doing justice to our own merit? And when the love of our country inspires us with a frankness so repugnant to self-love, surely it can meet with no great difficulty in dispelling those

mists which arise from that very same self-love, and are not altogether so thick as is commonly imagined.

But without making all these analyses and reflections, the savages appear to perform by instinct, what in our part of the world requires great efforts of reason. And indeed there are no instances of any of them having converted their popularity, or superior art and skill, to the prejudice of their country. Yet it is amazing to see those very savages sometimes so indifferent in regard to the public weal, while they shew a blind prepossession in favour of their immediate interests. But these different dispositions flow from the same principle. The savage is ready to knock a man down, that attempts to run away with his *sagamité* *, just as he is going to put it into his mouth; and he is capable also of reasoning coolly upon the subject, in order to deprive that person of the power of coming near him.

In regard to their military stratagems, they are so plain and simple, that one

* *Sagamité*, a dish in use among the savages. would

would think they should hardly meet with success; yet so careful are they in adapting them to circumstances and persons, that they seldom miscarry. Sometimes they pretend to give over all thoughts of attacking, and retire into the woods. Then they lay wait in places frequented by unexperienced young people; and counterfeiting the cries of animals, they impose upon the simplicity of their enemies, so as to overpower them by open force, or by cunning. Formerly their wars were never ended but by the total destruction of the conquered party.

True it is, that we have made some alteration in their manner of fighting, which was not perhaps the worst in the world; but still they are far from following ours. The real service we have done them, was to inspire them with horror of the barbarities they used to commit against a conquered enemy; barbarities, which though invented to remove unjust quarrels, did but perpetuate their animosities and hatred.

We have likewise cured them of the folly

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of divination, and rescued them from the terrible subjection they were under to the malice and knavery of their jugglers. I know not whether they have the same obligation to us for the changes we have effected in their manner of performing the ceremony of marriages. I am apt to think that their custom was as good as ours, and better suited to their own ideas.

The savages, though naturally very amorous, were accustomed however to enter into this engagement in such a manner as to reconcile their pleasure to their interest. As soon as the parents had determined that a youth was of a proper age to marry, they agreed the matter among themselves, and said to him: "thou may'st go now
"and light thy pipe day and night
"in the cottage of thy intended father-
"in-law: thou wilt let the smoke go
"towards her who is designed to be thy
"spouse; and act so that she shall take
"a pleasure in this fumigation, and desire
"thee to let her raise it herself. Shew
"thyself worthy of thy nation; do ho-
"nour

"nour to thy sex and to thy youth, by
"providing that none belonging to the
"cottage thou art going to, shall want
"either for necessaries or conveniencies.
"But particularly be sure to exert thy
"whole attention, in the service of her,
"who is to be one day thy companion;
"let thy bow and arrows be employed in
"finding provisions for her, with the ne-
"cessary quantity of oil and furs. Four
"winters are allowed thee to make a trial
"of thy fidelity and resolution."

This speech being finished, the young man, without making any answer, betook himself to the cottage appointed. His mistress, being apprized of his intentions, lent him a favourable ear, at first out of complaisance; and then, if he proved agreeable to her, she signified her mind to him, by asking for his pipe, of which she made no other use of than by puffing the smoke into his nostrils. This agreeable declaration would sometimes cause the person that made his addresses, to fall quite sick upon the ground: still it was a declaration of affection;

fection; and in what manner soever the lover is informed of a return of his passion, it must be attended with pleasure. Neither would the future bride stop there, but she would tie up the hair of her paramour, and dye his face with colours most pleasing to her own fancy. On this occasion she would display that skill, in which all the savage women excell, of pricking such marks in the skin of her lover, as are relative to their amours; and would suit her fancy in chusing that part of his body, which seemed the best adapted to do honour to her own ingenuity.

If these little civilities made a quick impression in the hearts of the two lovers, and the parents of the girl were satisfied, they shortened the apprenticeship of their son-in-law, and said unto him; "thou mayst whenever thou pleasest, take thy share of what covers thy beloved by night." This speech, which the lover understood at half a word, and which he hardly gave them time to finish, was the harbinger of his happiness. Instantly he flew from the cottage

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tage with his bow and arrows, and went home, where he said to his parents: "you are to expect me no more, I am going to the woods, from whence I shall not return, till my beloved is pleased to call me back." As soon as he had made this declaration, he betook himself to some neighbouring forest, where he exerted his whole agility and skill to procure a large quantity of the choicest game. In three days all the young people of the village went in triumphant procession to search for him; and each man loaded himself with provisions and furs, which the bridegroom had purchased with great fatigue and toil, to honour the nuptial feast. In order to give him some relaxation, he was permitted to bear no share of the burden. Being conducted by the juggler, or one of the oldest relations, he repaired to his mistress's cottage, and immediately covered himself with her bed-cloaths. This ceremony did not hinder the young couple from listening to a long discourse on the duties of the married state; and ended with a feast,

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a feast, which in some measure put the last seal to the union. The bridegroom being seated among the lads, and the bride among the girls, each waited for their respective dish of meat. This was brought to them in two *ouragans* of equal bigness, which were placed in the middle of the cottage. Then the president of the feast addressed himself to the bride in the following words: "O thou, who art upon the point of entering into a respectable state, know that the nourishment thou art going to take, forebodes the greatest of calamities to thee, if thy heart is capable of harbouring any ill design against thy husband, or against thy nation. Should'st thou ever be led astray by the caresses of a stranger, or should'st thou betray thy husband and thy country, the victuals contained in this *ouragan* will have the effect of a slow poison, with which thou wilt be tainted from this very instant: but if on the other hand thou remainest faithful to thy husband and to thy country, if thou wilt never insult

" the

"the one for his defects, nor give a description of the other to the enemy, thou wilt find this nourishment both agreeable and wholesome."

This speech being ended, the friend of the new married woman, as if by absence of mind, took the *ouragan* designed for the husband, and the friend of the husband did the same by that of the new married woman; but immediately recovering themselves, they cried out, "this mistake, of ours is an evident symbol of the intimate alliance this day contracted by the two parties. It is done, they are joined, and let them multiply." These words being repeated with loud acclamations by all the company, were followed by embraces, festivity, and dancing.

I confess these different circumstances of foolery and nonsense are hardly worth your notice; but I beg you will attend to the principal object. Do not you distinguish most evident marks of an honest simplicity, which we might easily convert to our advantage? And is it not much more becoming a man of sense

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sense to draw a good use from those customs and passions, which appear to him different from his own, than to make them the subject of laughter and derision? I could mention many instances, even of persons of shallow capacities, who have succeeded by this method, the surest of all others, that of winning the heart. And to convince you of this truth, I need only acquaint you that it has succeeded with our commandant. In my next you shall have one of his speeches, which produced a most wonderful effect. True it is that he only pronounced it; for it was penned by another: so that you need not be discouraged by hearing his name. It is enough for you to be tired with the length of my letter; therefore I beg you will accept of my excuses, and only permit me to renew the assurances, with which I conclude myself,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

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L E T T E R X.

The manners of the savages continued; a speech made to them by the Count de Raymond, to hinder them from making peace with the English.

S I R,

AFTER what I have mentioned to you concerning the savages, you will easily imagine, that they are to be gained only by persuasive means. Even in our conversation with those people, we should behave with an air of approbation: for if we only seemed to bear with their manners and customs, they would want to know our motives, which it is impossible should flatter their vanity; therefore they would fancy we acted from some other principle; and this might rebound to our prejudice. Our dissimulation they would think to be the effect of weakness and fear; which undoubtedly would hurt us. On the contrary, if they imagined that we approved of their manners from a conformity of inclination, they would

would surely be attached to us by the strongest tie of society, that of self-love. From this study of their passions and inclinations, and from a constant endeavour to conform to their customs, the Frenchman derives that magnificent elogium, which the savage thinks he bestows upon him by saying, *he is a man like himself*.

You will presently be able to judge, whether we are not better acquainted than any other nation, with the secret springs of these people's actions; and the speech I promised you, will serve as an example. Perhaps you will be of opinion that this speech might have been made with a better intention; and you will say, that it is neither just nor fair to revive or to perpetuate quarrels; but we give the example such as it is. They who understand the real motive for which he made it, may apply it afterwards to other objects. What follows is therefore the discourse which the Count de Raymond thought proper to pronounce at a meeting of the savages.

" Listen to me, my children, you call

" me

" me father, and I accept of the name with
" pleasure. I am the organ of the king
" my master, your protector, your bene-
" factor and support. Hence it is not
" only in the quality of father that I sum-
" mon you together at present; but more-
" over as interpreter of the greatest mo-
" narch upon earth; of a king that has
" no superior but the true God, the know-
" ledge of whom he has communicated to
" you for the good of your souls.

" A report is spread that your bre-
" thren the Abenakis, the Marechites,
" and perhaps the Mikmacks of the *Heve*,
" have concluded a peace with the English,
" or at least have granted them a four
" year's truce.

" I shall not tell you how odious it is for
" those false brethren to have concluded
" this peace without my knowledge, after
" the late and spontaneous assurance which
" you had given me. Neither shall I re-
" mind you of the oaths, which each chief
" took in my presence on this occasion in
" the behalf of all your tribes, at the time

" I was

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" I was amongst you, and when I gave
 " you fresh proofs of the liberality, affec-
 " tion, and kind disposition which our
 " unparalleled monarch beareth towards
 " your nation.

" Those who have broken their new
 " engagements, I abandon to their own
 " reflections; but as a good father, I must
 " open your eyes to your real and solid
 " interests, and to what concerns your
 " preservation. Neither will it be difficult
 " for me to demonstrate that the step your
 " brethren have taken, is diametrically op-
 " posite to both.

" Upon my arrival in these colonies,
 " over which the king has been pleased
 " to appoint me governor, my first care
 " was to cast an eye upon those tribes,
 " which are cherished and protected by
 " his majesty. I have been inquisitive to
 " know every thing concerning them,
 " and especially the motives they had for
 " making war against the English when
 " France was in peace with that nation.
 " By the most diligent researches, from
 " some

the Savages, Manners, &c. 161

"some of your own people, and from persons of undoubted integrity, I have learnt what follows.

"It is alledged against the English, that in the year 1744, towards the end of the month of December, they committed the following treacherous acts and barbarities. M. Canon having the command of a detachment of English troops, was sent to observe the retreat of the French and savages before Port Royal in Acadia, where he found two lonely cottages of the Mikmak savages. In these were five women and three children, and two of the women were big with child; but the English, without any regard to objects so worthy of compassion, plundered and set fire to the two cottages, and inhumanly butchered the five women and two children. It was even found that the pregnant women had their bellies ripped open; an act of barbarity, which notwithstanding it had been done in time of war, made those who informed me thereof, to shudder with horror.

M

" Five

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" Five months before this cruel action, one
 " David, captain of an English privateer, hav-
 " ing artfully set up French colours in the
 " strait of Fronsac, contrived so, by means
 " of a renegado who served under him as
 " an interpreter, as to inveigle the chief of
 " the savages of Cape Breton, together with
 " his whole family, to come on board
 " his ship. This chief, whose name was
 " James Padenuque, was first of all con-
 " fined to a dungeon, afterwards carried
 " to Boston, and stifled at length on board
 " a vessel, in which the English pretended
 " to convey him back to Cape Breton. Yet
 " they detained his eldest son, who was
 " only eight years old; neither would they
 " consent to restore him, though the sa-
 " vages had returned several prisoners with-
 " out ransom, in order to recover his liberty,
 " and notwithstanding that this condition
 " had been accepted.

" In the month of July 1745, the same
 " David by the like stratagem took a savage
 " family, who had no other way to get
 " out of his hands, than by making their
 " escape

" escape the very night they were taken.

" At the same time one Bartholemew
" Petitpas, being appointed interpreter of
" the savages, was carried prisoner to
" Boston. In vain did you claim him
" several times in exchange for some En-
" glish prisoners at that time in your cus-
" tody. In vain did you grant two of
" them, who were officers, their liberty,
" on condition that Bartholemew Petit-
" pas was sent back. They were deaf
" to your offers, and insensible to your
" generosity; and soon after they put your
" brother to death.

" The same year, 1745, your missionary
" having been invited to a parley on your
" account by several letters from one of the
" chief officers among the English, and
" having received a declaration in writing,
" that he should be at his liberty to return
" back to you when he pleased, ventured to
" repair to Louisburg. But when he had
" done every thing that was desired, the
" English, instead of observing their pro-
" mise, detained him against his will, used

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" him extremely ill, and though he was in
 " a very bad state of health, obliged him
 " to embark for England, from whence
 " he was not remanded to France till some
 " time after.

" It was also in the year 1745, that
 " the dead bodies of several of the savages
 " were dug up at Port Toulouse, and
 " thrown into the fire by the inhabitants of
 " Boston, who likewise insulted the bury-
 " ing ground of your nation, and broke
 " down all the crosses erected over the
 " tombs.

" The horrid affair of 1746 is another
 " event that ought never to be blotted out
 " of your memory. The woollen goods,
 " which the savages bought of the En-
 " glish merchants at that time trading in
 " the bason of Mejugouche, were all poi-
 " soned, so that upwards of two hundred
 " savages lost their lives.

" What happened in 1749 is an event
 " of the same atrocious nature. Towards
 " the end of the month of July, when
 " the inhabitants of New France were
 " stran-

the Savages, Manners, &c. 165

" strangers as yet to the suspension of
" arms concluded between the two crowns,
" the savages had taken some English pri-
" soners on the isle of Newfoundland; by
" whom they were informed of the suspen-
" sion of arms signed the year before at
" Aix-la-Chapelle, to which they gave credit
" upon the bare assertion of the prisoners.
" After this easy acquiescence, they expressed
" the greatest joy upon so happy a reconcili-
" ation. Nay, they treated them as bre-
" thren, untied them, and conducted them
" to their cottages, in order to shew them
" some marks of hospitality; but notwith-
" standing this generous behaviour, those
" perfidious guests murdered five and twenty
" of your people, men and women, in the
" middle of the night. There happened
" only to be two savages at some distance,
" who brought us the news of this horrid
" massacre.

" Towards the end of the same year,
" the English being gone to Chebucto,
" in order to make the settlements they
" have there at present, so prejudicial to

" our interest, caused a report to be spread,
 " that they were going to destroy all the
 " savages ; and since that time, they have
 " acted but too much in consequence of
 " this menace. They even sent detach-
 " ments of their troops on all sides in
 " pursuit of your people.

" These are the accounts that have been
 " given me : but to the above related facts,
 " which must have come to your know-
 " ledge, I shall add a piece of intelligence
 " which I have received lately ; namely,
 " that the English traders have talked
 " strangely here to one another, in the
 " hearing of people who they imagined did
 " not understand them, and from whom
 " I have received this information. In the
 " course of their conversation they explained
 " themselves very clearly concerning their
 " intention of concluding a sham peace
 " with your nation. They said that un-
 " der this specious pretext, they should
 " find means to assemble as many as they
 " could from among your different tribes,
 " and then to massacre you all.

" It

" It is not my intention, in reminding
" you of so many acts of cruelty, to excite
" you to a barbarous and bloody war. A
" true christian is incapable of any such
" design.

" Besides, you are at liberty to conclude
" war or peace. The king lays you un-
" der no restraint upon this head; but
" you cannot enter into a peace under the
" present circumstances, without consult-
" ing that protector, who has never fail-
" ed to grant you what succours you
" had occasion for, and who has given
" you so many marks of his affection.
" Besides, the repeated oaths you made in
" my presence some time ago, that you
" would conclude nothing without my
" knowledge, must surely be the more
" binding, as they were voluntary and
" unasked. You called in your patriarch
" as witness to this engagement; and from
" the marks of joy which you shewed on
" that occasion, there was room to think
" you would not break it.

" But on the other hand, have not you

" reason to apprehend, that in such a
 " case his majesty would be justly incensed
 " against your behaviour, so as to stop his
 " bounteous hand, to withdraw his suc-
 " cours, and to abandon you to your
 " barbarous enemies? A misfortune which
 " those very enemies desire may befall you,
 " and to which they would be glad to see
 " you reduced. Consider therefore that it
 " is of the greatest consequence for you
 " not to tumble into the pit they are
 " digging for you: and such is your real
 " interest.

" With regard to your preservation, in
 " general and particular, ought not all
 " the savages under the protection of my
 " sovereign, to be convinced by the facts
 " above related, of the shocking extremity
 " to which they would be reduced without
 " the assistance of France? But if on the
 " other hand you will not make peace
 " without the consent of your chief support,
 " you will ever find him a bulwark of de-
 " fence betwixt you and your enemies.

" Consult your patriarch, who is a man

" of

“ of sense and understanding, and has the
“ same paternal bowels for you as myself;
“ and though continually employed in the
“ care of your souls, still endeavours to
“ procure you all the sweets and comforts
“ of life: but how they are disposed
“ “ Could the ashes of your fathers, your
“ mothers, your wives, your children, your
“ friends and relations, be raised again to
“ life, and become capable of utterance,
“ they would speak to you in these words:
“ Never conclude a peace without the know-
“ ledge and consent of your support, be-
“ cause your mistrust an enemy who studies
“ nothing but your ruin, and who wants
“ to separate you from your friends only
“ with a view to surround you, and to
“ make you an easier prey. Beware of
“ their presents: for there is surely a
“ snake in the grass. They would fur-
“ ther add: Send two of your people
“ to your brethren, let them set off
“ directly and lose no time, but acquaint
“ them with the dangerous step they have
“ taken; let them open their eyes in re-
“ gard



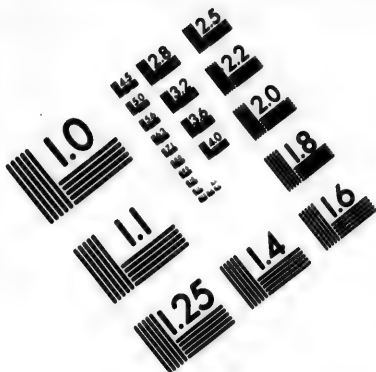
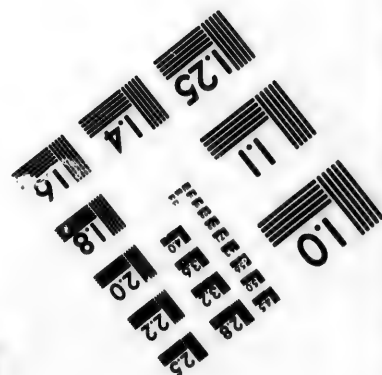
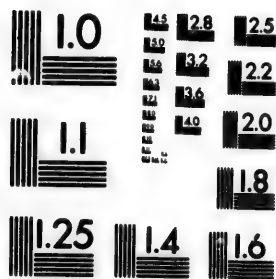


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"gard to what I have been saying, and
 "thereby they will be prevented from en-
 "tering into a peace, which must infalli-
 "bly terminate in their ruin."

"These, my children, are my sentiments
 "concerning your welfare, and merely on
 "this account I called you together." It is
 "now your business to determine which
 "side you will embrace."

Notwithstanding the prolixity of this
 speech, I have judged proper to give it you
 almost word for word, for the reasons above
 explained. You must not find fault with the
 Count de Raymond for his enthusiastic lan-
 guage; this is a side that must be used
 with the savages; and sure I am, that with
 a little more exaggeration and a few me-
 taphors, they would be still more strongly
 moved. All that I wish for, is that the
 conscience of the orator may agree with his
 eloquence; that the facts he advances may
 be so well ascertained, as to afford no room
 to charge him with having invented a heap
 of falshits and slander.

You may very well imagine, Sir, that if

our

our savages were to be told, "that they ought
" not to make peace, but to continue a bloody
" war, because the enemy of their nation in-
" sisted upon their lowering a flag belonging
" to one of their canoes;" I say, you may
imagine they would be as little moved with
this important reason for cutting one an-
other's throats, as with any other of the
same kind. But the preservation of the
individual appears a good motive to them,
as well as to us, and even more so; nay,
it is the only one that touches them. If
on the other hand they had been informed,
that the king of France would not have
them to make peace, or commanded them
not to conclude a treaty, their answer would
be; *but we will have a peace; the savage has
no master.* ... Thus the necessities of life and
liberty are the only blessings, and an at-
tachment to these the only passion, of those
savage nations. It behoves us to make a
proper advantage of this knowledge; but
first I will shew you what use hath been
hitherto made thereof in this part of the
world, and what further progress may be
expec-

expected; consistently with the government established in these colonies. I shall acquaint you with these particulars, in the manner as becomes a friend, and not as a courtier; and my sincerity will be a further proof to you of the attachment, with which I have the honour of being,

S I R, Yours, &c.

L E T T E R. XI.

Of the government of Cape Breton; of the military establishment, &c.

S I R,

THE islands of Cape Breton and St. John are subject to the same governor, who resides at Louisburg; but this governor, as well as that of Louisiana, are subordinate to the governor general of New France, who resides at Quebec. True it is, that the distance of those towns prevents this subordination from being any way irksome to the commanding officer at Louisburg. I am even of opinion that he would agree to be still more subordinate to the governor general, upon condition of having no body

to

to rival him in his authority in the town of Louisburg. This rival is the commissary for regulating the colony; and the following are their different functions. From the advantages and privileges which they enjoy in their respective offices, you may easily judge of the jarring there must be between them, whenever they prefer, as it but too often happens, their private interest to the public welfare. Whatever relates to the military establishment, and to the dignity of command, belongs to the governor only. It is his province to give orders to the troops, to see that they be well disciplined, and able to do service. It is his business to make the staff-officers give an account of their companies, and to enter into such explications with them, as shall make them sensible of their duty. He ought to take care that they commit no injustice to the men under their command, by withholding either their pay or their provisions; and if he finds any that have been guilty of this misdemeanor, it is his duty to punish them; but the commissary ought

ought to order restitution at the expence of the offenders.

The governor, together with the commissary, may grant absolute discharges to the serjeants and to invalids, conforming however in this respect to the king's edicts.

The direction of the savages, as well as the security of the colony, belongs particularly to the governor. The administration of the military chest, of provisions and ammunition, and generally of every article relating to the magazines, is the peculiar province of the commissary; so that there ought to be no payment, no sale, nor consumption, without his orders. Yet whenever the governor is pleased to ask for an account of the several stores, it should be given him by all means, to the end that he may be informed of the true state of the place. The direction of the hospitals likewise belongs to the commissary, though the governor has a right to see that every thing be done according to rule. The administration of justice is absolutely in the hands of the commissary, and

and the governor has nothing to do with it, but to assist the other with all his force, whenever his assistance is necessary; nor ought he ever to refuse it. It is the commissary's business, as first counsellor, to perform, in the absence of the intendant of Canada, the functions of president in the supreme council; for instance, to give hearing to the causes, to collect voices, to pronounce judgments, &c. And whenever he thinks proper to summon an extraordinary council, he ought to acquaint the governor thereof by a cryer belonging to court.

The governor and the commissary give jointly an account of the conduct of the officers of justice, and propose proper persons to fill up such places as are vacant by death or resignation; but it particularly concerns the governor to see that the gentlemen belonging to the army pay such regard to the officers of justice, as is due to the character with which they are invested, and to inculcate that same regard in the people; but especially to leave the
fu-

supreme council to their intire liberty in giving their opinions. The commissary on the other hand ought to hinder the council from meddling either directly or indirectly with whatever relates to the government and general administration of the colony, because he has been entrusted with authority merely to do justice to individuals in contested matters. Both the governor and the commissary ought equally to prevent any practitioners of the law, that should happen to settle in the colony, from interfering in any manner whatever in private causes.

The grants of lands, strands, &c. appertain in common to the governor and the commissary; who should be particularly careful to act in this respect after such a manner as shall prove most conducive to the welfare and improvement of the colony. As the inferior officers of justice are entrusted with the particular police, the commissary inspects their conduct. In regard to the general police, it is in the joint

hands of the governor and the commissary, and is confined to three objects; the increase of inhabitants, the augmentation of the number of planters, and the improvement of commerce and the fishery. The governor ought to take care of the first point, by treating the inhabitants with lenity and humanity, and by hindering the officers from using them with oppression. The commissary ought also to contribute on his part, by sympathizing with the people in their several distresses, and by not suffering the powerful to crush the weak, or the officers of justice to abuse their authority.

With regard to the fortifications to be erected or continued at Louisburg, and in some other parts of the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, the governor and the commissary should agree together in this point, as well as for the maintenance of good order and religion.

This, Sir, is a summary of the general and particular instructions, which the king gives to the two principal men employed

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in the government of these islands. There is no doubt of their being very good and extremely well digested; but in my humble opinion they are suitable to such countries only, as are more within the reach of the eye of the sovereign. For should there happen to be any clashing between these officers about their respective jurisdiction, it would lay a foundation for a perpetual quarrel and animosity, if either of them should not be thoroughly honest; and much more so if neither of them was endued with a disposition to promote the general good. Further, let us suppose two men as honest as you please, and so free from jealousy and envy as to respect this feeble barrier of their jurisdiction, still there must ever arise some inconveniency, from too equal a distribution of government. Where can you find two men, who see things in the same light? And unless they have the purest intentions imaginable, how is it possible to prevent their adhering obstinately to their own sentiment, when they think it founded on a regard to the public welfare? In vain would

it be to recommend union to them, when they fancied it their duty to differ. Should you object that this is the very form of government established in all the towns in France, I make answer, that it will do very well in that kingdom, because it is easy, in contested cases, to obtain a decision from the prince; but considering our great distance, how many inconveniencies might arise before we could receive a plenary determination from the fountain head? I do not think you will have recourse to the weak shift of submitting to the decrees of the government of Canada; for you cannot be ignorant that during the greatest part of the year, it would be as easy to have intelligence from Paris as from Quebec. I own the king's instructions expressly take notice, that in affairs requiring dispatch, and where the commissary and the governor cannot agree, the opinion of the latter shall have the preference. But then it is necessary that the commissary should at least consent to the necessity of this dispatch, before he can resolve to deliver out the public money,

without which nothing can be done. And as this confession or agreement subjects him to the will of a person contrary to his approbation, it is obvious he cannot come into it but in the very last extremity, of course when probably it is too late.

The proofs of what I have been here advancing, are still recent in every body's memory. We had a late instance of an opposition, which was not so much as owing to a mistaken zeal for the public good.

In the year 1751, a new governor landed on the island, and in six weeks became the commissary's mortal enemy. The former wanted to humble his colleague, who on the other hand, being long accustomed to the inhabitants and to the customs of the country, found a thousand ways to mortify his rival. Do you imagine that during these disputes the state was well served, or a proper care taken for the security of the colony? Whatever the governor proposed, was sure to be contradicted by the commissary. The latter used to deny that the case was so urgent as to require his compliance.

pliance; neither would he, without an express order, deliver out the public money, which he has generally in his custody. In the mean while the fortifications were neglected; and a formidable enemy was ready perhaps to take advantage of our divisions: so that before the quarrel betwixt two rivals in ambition, authority, and interest, could be decided, the proper precautions were likely to come too late. But these, you will say, are not examples to the point. There is no sort of doubt but those two men were guilty of failings inconsistent with the love of their country. But who can tell whether their successors have behaved better? The choice of those officers is subject to great mistakes, without reckoning the voluntary errors owing to partiality and favour. Therefore since it is impossible to dive into the heart of man, and it would be too laborious a task for the sovereign to make a general inquiry himself, would it not be far preferable for him to entrust his authority into the hands of a single person, in a country where it is

so difficult to remedy the abuse and inconveniency of dilatory decisions? At least the apprehension of shame, and of not being able to throw the fault upon another person, would be some check to this officer. The most defective plan, if it meets with no interruption, is far preferable to the most plausible schemes, when they happen to be subject to contradiction and delays.

You must not however imagine that those two gentlemen had not their admirers: but I would have you to form your judgment from this impartial account.

The commissary, who is still in the colony, is grown grey, as it were, in the service. He came very young to this country; and brought up a Creolian girl himself, whom he afterwards married. A great many people say that he perfectly understands the advantages and interests of this colony; others, and particularly his adversary, pretend that he understands his own much better; that he favours only his friends and relations; and that through an unjust partiality, he discourages the in-

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habitants, and hinders the improvement of the colony. The governor upbraided the other with the meanness of his extraction, with his first employment as clerk to the navy, and with the mediocrity of his abilities, in every thing that does not regard his own personal interest.

But the person that throws these reflections upon him, is not exempt himself from censure. In vain does he pride himself of the honour of being related to one of our most eminent ministers of state; his pretension was flatly denied. You may well judge that after this, they gave him no quarter. Even his person, for which he could not be accountable, was not spared. True it is, that his figure is rather apt to excite derision than respect, especially in people who seemed the more inclined to pay him too little, as he required too much. His imperious air, and despotic tone of voice, are extremely ill suited to a crabbed countenance and diminutive figure; not to mention his spindle shanks, which must needs disgrace a person, who would

fain raise himself above all the world. These however are blomishes that might be easily effaced by an extent of genius, with prudence and resolution ; qualifications, which our governor seems not to be so happy as to possess. It is said only that he has an itch to meddle with every thing, without abilities to support him. And indeed, notwithstanding that the functions of these two officers are as distinct as possible, still he has encroached to such a degree on that of his colleague, as to produce a very dangerous schism in the colony. He tired the court with his projects ; and it was to no purpose to desire he would consult with the commissary, who was presumed from his long experience to be better informed ; still he would return to the same point. Obstinacy is the inseparable attribute of shallow capacities. To expect esteem merely from the decoration of their titles, is their common practice. Besides, does not a disdainful air exalt their personal qualities in the eye of fools ? and are not fools the greatest number ? are not they perhaps the

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only people that take notice of one who resembles themselves? These reflections, you see, are general; though the person that occasioned them, may easily point out the application: all we can say in particular is, that he appears to us the man in the world we had the least reason to expect for our governor. He had never shewn any specimen of his abilities in an art so necessary to our welfare. As he had been hitherto employed only in the land-service, he was of course unpractised in maritime affairs; nor had he ever distinguished himself in his own province. It is said that he was a great projector; but I question whether this sort of merit ought to pass for any thing in a country generally overburthened with schemes.

Yet his capacity was not the only thing inquired into; the commissary finding the public all of one mind about this article, made a closer attack upon him: I say closer, because I think as you do, Sir, that the disposition of the heart, is a more proper characteristic of a man, than certain
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qualities, the want of which ought rather to be imputed to his patron than to himself. He was charged with having purchased a piece of ground of considerable extent, that had been cleared at a very great expence, and with having refused to pay the money; as also with having obliged several of the inhabitants to dispose of their possessions on that spot. It was likewise said that his cook-maid, whom he had raised to be his governante, sold every thing that could possibly be obtained by way of favour, and thereby enriched herself to the prejudice of persons of real merit. These are accusations sufficiently proved by the great expence he was at above his income; by the testimony of some persons, who, notwithstanding their obligations to him, could not avoid speaking the truth; and lastly, by the indulgences of the court. For after all, this very man, whose memory has been preserved here so much to his dishonour, has obtained, by way of gratification, a remission of all his debts, which were very considerable, and a pension of four thousand livres.

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You see, Sir, that neither doubt, nor certainty about this matter, is of any consequence to people who suffer from both. The inhabitants, desirous of acquiring a little property, are ready to undertake a thousand things, though ever so laborious, for the advantage of the colony: but some are stopped by injustice and oppression; while others are afraid of being stripped by our divisions, of the fruits of their labour. From what quarter soever these scourges come, they put a damp to all industry. Once more I say it, to supply the eye of the sovereign, we stand in need of a single representative, worthy of his majesty. But I was not aware that my complaints and wishes have lengthened out my letter to such a degree, that I should find no room for the other particulars of government, the abuses of which, as a good citizen, I ought to lament. As a good friend, I ought also to give you a caution concerning them, since you are very shortly to feel their inconveniency. Let us reserve the remainder for another letter, and conclude this with
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the same sentiments as I finished all the rest. I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XII.

Of the supreme council, and other jurisdictions; of the hospital, priests, monks; and of the missionaries of the savages.

S I R,

AFTER having sufficiently entertained you in regard to the two leading men of the colony, to their different functions, their divisions, and the inconveniencies from thence arising, I must now proceed to the subaltern bodies that are entrusted with the particular branches of government. The supreme council is composed of the governor, the commissary, the king's lieutenant, an attorney-general, four or five counsellors, a secretary, and a tip-staff; and if any of the council happens to be indisposed or absent, some inhabitant of the colony is appointed to supply his place, when there are causes to try. But since I have taken the resolution to disclose my mind to you in regard to the uneasiness I

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the Supreme Council, &c. 189

have felt from the abuses of this place, I shall be so free as to tell you what methods ought to be observed, at least in my opinion, in order to remedy these inconveniencies. And first of all, the attorney-general ought to be known at least to the majority, as a man of probity. He should be a person that had studied the law, been some time at the bar, and a man of sound judgment. Each member of the council ought also to be acquainted with the principal laws of the colony. They are generally chosen from among the merchants, and very often without examining whether they have the requisite qualifications; a neglect that may be of very bad consequence. For as it too often happens that they are some way interested in the suits that are brought against other merchants, I could wish that the town-major was joined to the council, but not till six months after being named to his office, during which time he should apply himself to the study of the laws, and assist at all their meetings, yet without having a deliberative voice

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voice during this kind of noviciate. It would likewise be adviseable to introduce one of the captains into the council, without taking him in his rank of seniority, but chusing him from among the whole corps, upon finding that he had the qualifications requisite for this employment, and had given full proof thereof for the same space of time as was fixed for the major.

This very method ought to be observed in regard to the king's lieutenant, and the other members. By these means we should always have a wise council; at least it is morally certain that they would be much more so than those who are taken at a venture. Besides, this mixture of the gentlemen of the army with those of the long robe, must be productive of a very good effect, and prevent a multitude of abuses, which you may easily guess at from my remedies against them. Another considerable advantage arising from this mixture, would be the reconciling these two orders of men to the same way of thinking. This is a point that cannot be too strongly incul-

culcated; for it would prevent the contempt that prevails on one side, and the inveterate hatred on the other; which are oftentimes a matter of ridicule in flourishing kingdoms, yet extremely prejudicial to a new colony. And supposing those opposite passions could not be absolutely suppressed, some advantage might still be drawn from them: for as union in council is of great use, moderate opposition is also conducive to a good purpose; since it renders the avenues to corruption of more difficult access. It likewise creates jealousies, which frequently end in an emulation advantageous to the community. This at least I am sure of, that in a council constituted after my manner, we should not see instances of judges sitting to determine causes without knowing any thing of the proceedings; at least they would be desirous of some information by a brief or memorial, were it only for the pleasure of vying with one another in sagacity and knowledge. For there is not a man of the law, or even a common accomptant, but

but thinks himself more knowing, and pretends to more learning than a military officer. And among the gentlemen of the army, surely there is not one that would chuse to be noted for his ignorance.

Next to the supreme council comes the bailiwick, which notwithstanding its being an inferior court, deserves the same care and regulation as the former. This kind of jurisdiction extends itself to the civil administration, and the particular police of the colony; being composed of a judge, the attorney-general, a secretary, and a tipstaff. It is at present exercised by the officers of the admiralty, which seems altogether absurd. The bailiff should be therefore an honest man, that at least had some tincture of the laws, and was acquainted with the custom of Paris, which is the same as is followed in the French colonies. This judge, and his subaltern officers, ought to have a competent subsistence, without being obliged to squeeze upon the public. And indeed the salaries annexed to this jurisdiction are far from being

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being sufficient: they have been settled by a tax, no longer compatible with the improvement of the colony.

But our misfortune is, that not only we have no such thing as a genteel maintenance for our judges, which may induce them to administer justice impartially, but we are likewise so unlucky as to be destitute of the means of executing their decrees. We have neither a common hangman, nor a tormentor *, nor so much as a jail. You will say perhaps, you have no occasion for them. Pardon me, Sir, for we are not of a particular frame or make: and would to God we could do without those things; I should be under very little concern about the maintenance of our judges.

The admiralty consists of a lieutenant, the attorney-general, a clerk, and a tipstaff. I cannot help wishing for the good of this court, that they made choice of disinterested officers, and such as carried on no trade

* The officer appointed to rack criminals, or to inflict penal tortures.

of any sort, but shewed themselves extremely active in preventing all illicit commerce, in visiting the several ships and vessels that enter the harbour, and in sending to inspect the other ports in the island. It is at the court of admiralty that the merchants enter the different commodities, that are imported into the colony, as well in foreign as in national bottoms. The emoluments they receive on this account, are very considerable. They visit the ships, and verify the cargoes from the accounts entered in their office. If there happen to be effects unentered, or prohibited, they are confiscated, and the captains condemned in pecuniary fines, and to the seizing of their cargoes, &c. The judge of the admiralty, as I said a while ago, is judge of the bailiwick. He was heretofore a journeyman peruke-maker, but afterwards became clerk to a merchant in Louisburg, and secretary to two jurisdictions. And since the conclusion of the peace, the secretary of the admiralty, upon entering into a very considerable branch of trade,

trade, raised this man to be judge of that court, and procured him the post of bailiff, in order to render him more serviceable in his commerce at Louisburg. This magistrate, and the others of subordinate jurisdiction, are grown extremely rich, which is not at all surprizing, since they are interested in different branches of commerce, particularly the contraband.

We must now proceed to the spiritual government, which is not the least essential to the minds of a people, whose zeal and simplicity render them susceptible of every impression. The same precaution should therefore be taken to chuse proper members for this sort of government, as for the other branches above mentioned. Nay, there ought to be more; for the savages are extremely apt to be scandalized, and carried away by their prejudices, when they see religion exposed to ridicule. The inhabitants have also imbibed some part of these notions. Therefore you may easily imagine what havock and mischief might be committed here by those turbulent spirits,

or by those hypocondriacs, who are apt to disguise the acrimony of their natural disposition, under the cloak of piety. As these men ought to set an example to the rest, do but think what confusion there would be, if they were to lead a dissolute life, and to influence those whose inclinations are of themselves but too prone to debauchery. But why should I mention these misfortunes, as distant and barely possible? Let us be candid; we feel them already, and the worse of it is, we feel them in both extremes.

We have six missionaries, whose continual employment is to spirit up the minds of people to fanaticism and revenge. I confess that these arms are turned against our natural enemy; but this enemy has not as yet violated the peace between the two nations; and I question whether the Christian religion admits of our raising, without a cause, such sentiments in the minds of the vulgar, as are conducive to envy and hatred, and destructive to our fellow-creatures. I cannot bear these odious de-

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clamations, which our priests make every day to the poor savages. "The English are the enemies of God, and companions of the devil: since they do not chuse to adopt the same way of thinking with us, you must do them as much mischief as you can. Our king could not avoid concluding a peace with them, which is not to be of long duration. But this peace does not relate to you at all: go on with your hostilities; till we think proper to assist you. To behave in this manner is your duty towards God, towards your neighbour, whose blood calls out aloud for vengeance; and, lastly, towards yourselves, since they aim at nothing but your total destruction."

Let us grant, for a while, that the governor, for political reasons, seldom consistent with the gospel, may harangue them in this manner; but that the ministers of this very gospel should preach such sermons, is so absurd, that I do not think our ministry, notwithstanding they may be pleased with the effect, can approve of the cause. And

what answer could we give to the English, if to refute the charge of being aggressors whenever a war broke out, they should send us a copy of one of those edifying discourses? Here indeed one might justly cry out, that the God whom we worship, does not approve of any such fanatical proceedings. And really, if his ministers were to be directed by his holy commandments, instead of seducing those weak ignorant souls, they would speak to them in the following manner. "We are all of us
 " the children of God, the English as well
 " as yourselves; it belongs to our common
 " father alone to determine whether they
 " are disobedient to his orders. He has
 " not entrusted us with the decision of
 " his cause, but reserved it to himself.
 " They are your brethren; and for this
 " very reason you should forget that ever
 " they were your enemies: nay, you ought
 " to be afraid lest those calamitous times
 " should return; and instead of promoting
 " such an event, you should rather lament the unhappy necessity of a just
 " defence."

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Were our priests but to deliver themselves to this purpose, six would not be sufficient to discharge the whole duty of the mission; but considering the manner in which they mislead those poor people, they are rather too numerous. I must except one person, who is in some measure their superior. He is a very worthy man, endued with good sense and understanding, of great mildness of temper, and known probity. Still he is but one to five; and let him be ever so much a man of sense, it is impossible for him to make the others listen to reason, especially if their manners are irreproachable. For it is but too often the case, that people of this condition of life, who steer clear of censure in regard to their morals, imagine themselves above controul. And yet it is a moot point which of the two may be termed the most dangerous, a debauched, or an enthusiastic priest: though experience seems to have determined the point. But, as I observed to you before, we are troubled with both inconveniencies; on the one hand,

our missionaries raise disturbances by their declamations; and on the other, the recollect friars, who are jointly concerned in the administration of spiritual affairs, set a bad example to the common people, especially by their intemperance and ignorance, &c.

The hospital is served by six brothers of the charitable confraternity. With regard to these people, as well as the recollects, you shall scarce meet with a common soldier in the whole army, but leads a far better life than they. Nay, they do not seem to think that charity is a virtue; for were it not that the governor has a careful eye over their conduct, the poor people that are sent to this hospital, would be sure of being sent to their grave. Yet the king pays them as generously, as if they deserved his benevolence. To each of the fathers he allows five hundred livres a year, a thousand livres for their board, three thousand for the furniture and utensils of the hospital, and six hundred for the purchase of medicines consumed throughout the year. For every

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soldier under their care, they are allowed sixteen sous a day, besides his ration of bread, which is valued at above five and twenty sous. For the other people of the colony, who are received into the hospital on the king's account, they are likewise allowed five and twenty sous; and they expect more from the burghers, and other inhabitants that chuse to be there at their own expence. They have the largest, strongest, and most commodious house in the colony. They have likewise three different habitations in the best parts of the island, where they breed poultry and cattle, which indeed would perfectly enable them to do their duty towards the sick, if they were so disposed.

But I take upon me to affirm, that they never will do it, and there is no other way to provide for the safety of the infirm, than to place a surgeon in the hospital, with a power to inspect the drugs, it being known that those charitable brethren generally consult their own profit, and not the preservation of the patient. Their
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behaviour in regard to the sustenance of the sick people, is equally scandalous; so that the shortest way would be not to employ them at all, but send them back to do penance in France. They have great need of it, for besides what I have been mentioning, there are many other matters for them to repent. As they are surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries to the whole colony, they are continually roaming about from house to house; and, God knows, what mischief they do: at least I believe that if there are some married women who do not complain of them, there may be several husbands who have a great deal to say to their charge. Indeed in the chirurgical business, the branch which pleases them the most is man-midwifry, and probably they have more reason than one to be fond of it. In short, indecent as these things may appear in the recital, they are far from being exaggerated; and as those men who ought to edify us in their different employments, do rather set the worst of examples; I am for absolutely expelling

expelling them all. In their room I should be for substituting the grey sisters, who in general are far more capable of nursing the sick than any man whatever; and virtuous women are qualified for every decent employment.

We have some religious women here, that call themselves of the community established at Quebec, whose province it is to supervise the education of young girls; and these are women of true piety: but they have hardly either lodging or victuals to eat, while the sturdy indolent friar is ready to burst with fat. I confess I am somewhat angry upon the subject, and my warmth hinders me from seeing that perhaps I am troublesome to you, by taking up so much of your time upon the same object. Let us therefore proceed to the military state of the island.

Before the war, the military state of Cape Breton consisted of the following staff-officers, namely, the king's lieutenant, a major, an aid-major, and the king's lieutenant in the island of St. John. The troops on foot
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were to the number of eight French companies, each of seventy men, commanded by a captain, a lieutenant, two ensigns, with a detachment of five hundred Swiss, of the regiment of Karrer. These troops were in garrison at Louisburg, from whence a company was sent to the island of St. John, and another to the Royal battery, which were relieved regularly every year. There was also a detachment ordered to Port Toulouse, another to Port Dauphin, and a third to the little island battery. Since the restitution of Cape Breton, the garrison has been increased to four and twenty French companies, of fifty men each. The staff-officers have been put upon the ancient footing, and there has been another distribution of the garrison in proportion to its augmentation. Besides these four and twenty companies of regular troops, the colony has been strengthened once more by a company of bombardiers, who had been here some years before, and are of very great service in time of war. I will not pretend to say, Sir, that there are no abuses in
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regard to these troops; for I must be sincere. What I can fairly declare on the occasion, is that those abuses are not owing to any want of regulations and instructions from the court to the commanding officers: but if we continue to observe them no better than those which concern the fortifications, I may safely prophecy, that notwithstanding we have so many brave fellows to defend us (not to mention the inhabitants, whose number in the town of Louisburg alone amounts to four thousand, about eight hundred of whom are able to bear arms) we run a risk of falling once more under the power of the enemy, whenever they shall think proper to besiege us.

Is it not therefore the part of an honest citizen to lament the annual loss of men, and money, owing to the bad administration of those who abuse the ear of the prince? Therefore I have not done with my complaints; and I know you too well, not to be convinced that you must sympathize with me on so melancholy a subject. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

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LETTER XIII.

Of the commerce of both islands; of the contraband trade, and the abuses in this respect.

SIR,

TRADER is at present one of the principal objects of government in most countries in Europe: besides the wealth that flows from this source, it serves to unite different nations by mutual interests and conveniencies, which are afterwards strengthened by habit and correspondence, and form the most lasting ties of human society.

This maxim is so well understood by the English and the Dutch, that it seems to be the basis of all their politics, so that there is hardly a country with which they have not established a regular traffic. And I make no manner of doubt, but that the prodigious influence which those nations have on the affairs of Europe, and the ease with which they succeed in their several negotiations, are owing to the connections

nections originally introduced, and afterwards made necessary, by commerce. It is amazing that the French should not have been sensible of so essential an article, till after all other nations, and that they could have so long suffered the Dutch to run away with their trade; when they might have carried it on to such an advantage themselves.

And indeed France has within herself the richest materials of commerce of any country in Europe. The whole kingdom almost is fruitful and cultivated. She has a prodigious number of manufactures; and her colonies alone afford a yearly supply of commodities nearly to the value of a hundred millions of livres, by which a considerable navigation is supported. This produces an immense quantity of superfluities, which can only be a burthen to her, unless they are exported to other nations; but the promoting a foreign consumption of them, must necessarily raise her to the highest degree of power.

Such a fund of commerce ought naturally

to connect the French with all other nations. There are but very few that do not make use of our commodities, nay, that do not eagerly desire them, and give them the preference. We should therefore have encouraged them all to enter our harbours, and have taken off of their hands whatever they were able to import to us, without prejudicing our own national interest. By this method we might have increased the number and competition of purchasers; there would have been a much greater demand for our goods, and a quicker consumption; the consequence of which would be, that the price of commodities would have risen, or at least been maintained upon a very advantageous footing.

But instead of pursuing this measure, we have taken quite a contrary step. Without concerning ourselves about other nations, we have relied upon the Dutch alone for the management of our whole commerce. This is the foundation of the several treaties concluded with those people, wherein we have favoured them with most

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exorbitant privileges, such as were incompatible with the commerce of other nations.

If so extraordinary a conduct were not repugnant to reason, still experience would convince us of its absurdity. Before these treaties our seas were covered with ships from the north and from the Baltic; but since that time, for one Danish, or Swedish vessel, that we see in our harbours, we have a hundred Dutch. Therefore as navigation is together the means and the cause of commerce, our commodities were all exported, to our great national detriment, to Holland; for nothing contributes so much to lower the price of merchandize, as collecting too large a quantity in one spot. Besides, as only a very small part of our commodities was consumed in Holland, and the rest were to be forwarded to the north and to the Baltic for a second market, it was the interest of the Dutch to keep them down at so low a price, that they might be gainers by selling them again, and other nations should not find their account in fetching them from France, which indeed

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the extraordinary duties prevented them from doing.

This system of commerce had like to have been the ruin of France. The Dutch disposed of our most valuable commodities in what manner they pleased. They exported our goods at our own expence, and at our own risk; and finding themselves supplied in such plenty, they turned this very circumstance to our disadvantage, by fixing our commodities at an arbitrary price, generally relative to their markets in the north. On the other hand, this diminution of the price at Amsterdam, was felt over the rest of Europe; for the Dutch used to regulate the current price of all merchandizes, and France was obliged to follow them; in consequence of which the price of French goods was sometimes reduced to such a point, that they cost ourselves twice the value of what we were offered for them.

It was therefore of the utmost importance to set aside those treaties, which destroyed the sinews of our government, excluded

us from the Baltic, of course prevented the vessels of that part of the world from entering our ports, and almost intirely broke off all correspondence between France and the northern states. For commerce is the firmest and most lasting connection betwixt different nations. To this all other reasons of state ought to give way.

How greatly must we therefore have suffered in our politics, from the almost total interruption of trade, to which we were reduced by our treaties with the Dutch? For this is what happened, and what will always happen, whenever we take it into our heads to conclude an exclusive treaty with any nation. The Dutch in all the treaties of commerce between them and us, have had one settled plan, to obtain conditions exclusive of our trading with any other state but themselves, or advantages so extraordinary and exorbitant as must be equivalent to an exclusion. By this method they have completely diverted the channel of intercourse between us and the northern nations. They

have established their own regulations to our prejudice. For it may be truly affirmed, that treaties of this kind, founded in the mistaken notions of our ministers, and where it is evident that the several articles tend to an exclusive commerce with the Dutch, can neither be concluded nor maintained without a most refined policy, on their side, so as to inspire us with jealousy, and even aversion, against those nations, with whom it is their interest to prevent us from having any connection.

The English, on the other hand, though sometimes deceived by the artifices of the Dutch, have been particularly careful to watch their motions, and to endeavour to partake of the benefit of the treaties concluded with the republic; and perhaps our ill-judged preference on this occasion has contributed more to their aversion from us, than the ancient jealousy between the two nations. Hence we find that the constant aim of both the Dutch and English is to exclude France as the only formidable rival. They endeavour to render her either odious

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or obscure, to prevent their subjects from trading directly to her harbours, and from contracting such habits as tend insensibly to remove any popular prejudices and the seeds of division, to the end that they may be able to preserve their alliances, and their influence in all public negotiations.

Such being the state of affairs, our ministers must meet with infinite difficulties, in making any impression on foreign courts. The minds of the inhabitants must be disposed to fear or jealousy, according to the prejudices received from our rivals in commerce; so that they will have no connection with us. The members of the government are almost as strongly prepossessed against us as the common people. The present interest speaks only in favour of the English and the Dutch, with whom they have contracted a familiarity by the old connections of commerce; so that no credit is paid but to these people, who are treated on the footing of friends. With these they trade and converse, and to these they think them-

selves indebted for their wealth. But were they to open their eyes to their real interests, and resolve upon entering into the strictest intimacy with France, they would be diverted from any such purpose by the treaties subsisting between the Dutch and us, which would intirely destroy their commerce, their navigation, and their fisheries. Besides, their commodities would be either prohibited, or made subject to imposts from which the Dutch were exempted; so that they would look upon us with an eye of indifference, at the same time that they paid the utmost respect to the English and the Dutch; and every reason of state would induce them to preserve their alliance with those nations. It is true, the abolition of these treaties would repair the damage; but with great difficulty and length of time. The people's minds are alienated; and their correspondences and acquaintances are settled with other nations; obstacles that even interest itself does not always surmount.

This digression, Sir, upon trade in general,

neral, which to you perhaps may appear misplaced, is not so however, considering the influence which the subject in hand has on the commerce of Cape Breton.

Had we regained the affection of the English at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, when the two courts seemed to be so favourably inclined towards each other; and had we given to them the preference before a nation, of whom we had far more reason to complain, and who sooner or later are apt to requite our favours with ingratitude, our affairs would have taken a very different turn. But in vain did we promise at that time to settle a treaty of commerce advantageous to both nations; and in vain were those promises renewed in the treaty of 1718. Nothing of all this has been done. Hence it is that the two kingdoms have continued at as great a distance as ever; and in consequence of their resentments, have mutually prohibited all importation and exportation of merchandizes, and their bosoms nourish the seeds of jealousy and envy, which are

ready to shoot up. They watch, and endeavour to defeat each other's schemes. Whatever tends to the advantage of one of these kingdoms, immediately becomes an object of jealousy to the other; and this disposition is frequently the forerunner of an open rupture.

Yet France at present is sensible of the great occasion she has for opening her ports to all nations, and entering into a general commerce. For it is to be presumed, that experience and necessity must have shewn her the means of extending and securing her different branches of trade. But will her enemies consent to it? Will not the English oppose her out of spite, and the Dutch through interest? A fermentation is raised in our minds, and we ourselves seem to pick a quarrel with a people, by whom we know ourselves to be mortally hated. I am afraid indeed the opportunity will offer but too soon. Yet how great a difference would it be to these infant colonies, considering the periodical calamities under which they groan, could they enjoy but a suffi-

sufficient duration of peace with their neighbours, and by means of a regular and just commerce, shoot up to a proper height and improvement. I would venture to say that the connections being once established, it would be difficult to break them; that our animosities would subside; and we should not have always the same work to begin again. Would to God it was in my power to divert the storm, which I see gathering over our heads. It is really my regard for the general good of mankind, and the particular advantage of my own country, that excites these sentiments within my breast; and it becomes a cosmopolite as well as an honest citizen, to point out the means of improving our commerce as I have done. Nothing further remains than to shew likewise the advantages thereof; which I shall be able to effect in my next. For this end I have only to acquaint you with the internal commerce of the island, with the trade now carried on with foreign nations, and last of all with that which ought to be prohibited. I am, &c.

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LETTER XIV.

Account of the trade continued; of the commerce which ought to be established at Cape Breton; and of that which is now carried on with the merchants of New-England.

S I R,

THE most essential, and almost the only branch of trade at present carried on in our colony, is that of the cod-fishery. This is what supports the inhabitants, and finds them employment; consequently is the article which the government ought most to encourage for the general good of the country.

The exportation of dry cod is effected by means of the ships that come from France, and from the French islands in the West-Indies. From France they bring every thing requisite for the different vessels and boats employed in the fishery: as likewise to the inhabitants the necessaries of life. The sale of these commodities is made in the currency of the country, according to the greater or lesser scarcity of

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provisions, in exchange for cod sometimes by quintal, a quintal and a fourth, a quintal and a third; but never higher; otherwise it would be a proof that there is great scarcity of provisions in the colony.

The same vessels are likewise laden with the necessary apparel for the inhabitants, as well as with the utensils and different moveables suited to their use. These goods the captains of ships either sell for sums of money payable at their departure, or for ready specie; and the produce of this completes the cargo of cod-fish which they take with them upon their return to France. Sometimes it will happen that a captain of a ship, after disposing of his cargo, shall have more specie than is necessary to purchase his lading, and then he takes the balance in bills of exchange. Sometimes the case may be that the fish is very dear, and then he takes only to the amount of those goods which he must necessarily barter, and then it follows that he brings back a greater number of bills of exchange with him.

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The ships from the West-Indies import syrups, sugar, coffee, and tobacco, but in lesser quantity, always in exchange for the cod-fish, because of the communication between this part of America for the maintenance of the negros employed in the West-India trade.

As the colony of itself is too inconsiderable for the consumption of these syrups, sugar, coffee, &c. in order to promote the sale and exportation of them, as well for the advantage of the inhabitants of the place, as for that of the merchants of the Caribbee islands, the English are permitted to come and trade to this colony, and to export this sort of provisions, of which they stand in great need. This is a very beneficial commerce to us, provided it be under a proper regulation, and that the English import no sort of merchandize capable of prejudicing the commerce of France, and especially that they import no cod-fish. The prohibition of the latter is the stronger for this reason, as it would be infinitely detrimental to the colony, since
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this fishery is our only support. There is no doubt but we ought to be very attentive to this article, because as the English have more extensive colonies than we, and a greater fishery, they naturally look out for a vent for these commodities: besides the temptation of interest might prompt some dishonest people among ourselves to deal with them; for, as I have already observed, our cod-fish is dearer than theirs.

However, they are permitted to import provisions of various sorts, as legumes, cattle, poultry, maize, or Indian wheat, oats, planks, shingles, timber, and bricks. As these sorts of goods are not always sufficient to make their returns, they pay the balance in specie, and they likewise sell to our merchants a kind of boats, called *goelettes*, which come cheaper than if they were made in the country, and are far more durable, being of much better wood than those of Cape Breton. As there are very severe prohibitions against giving any money to the English, and on the contrary we ought to receive the balance in specie from

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from them, the trade with that nation must needs be advantageous to our colonies, and make us desire a peace. Yet it would be still infinitely more to our interest, were we to make the most we can of the country, in the manner I shall point out in another letter. In that case, our Islands being provided with necessaries, would be absolutely independent of every kind of commerce, that did not redound intirely to their advantage. With respect to the inhabitants of the French islands in the West-Indies, we must give them some money as a bait; for they are extremely greedy after it, as there is profit upon the specie from hence to the West-Indies: but what little we gave them, would, if we pleased, be but a very inconsiderable part of the circulation of the English specie, which as you may easily perceive, must make our fortunes, if a strict regard was paid to union and commerce.

The fishermen of this country generally go out a fishing in their shallops. For

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the better conducting of this work, they endeavour to have thirty six months to assist them, and these being absolutely necessary, the public good requires they should not be wanting. These thirty six months are men hired on the coast of Normandy and Britany, to go over to America and serve for that space of time. The captains of ships, who come to this part of America, are obliged by the king's ordonnances, to transport a certain number of them, in proportion to the size of their vessels. The greatest part of the inhabitants, even those who make the best figure in the colony, came over first upon this footing. These are the people, who confining themselves intirely to the commerce of the country, transact the whole of it by commission. It is they that employ men in catching the fish, and that furnish the rest of the inhabitants. They strike at every thing, and are always ready to throw difficulties in the way of strangers. Nay, they frequently advance money to the inhabitants, and then oblige them

them to sell their fish at a low price, when they might dispose of it to a much greater advantage to foreign traders. They do worse, for when the poor people happen to be distressed in winter for provisions, they sell the same fish to them again at a very exorbitant price. This sort of abuse does a great deal of damage to the colony; but there is no remedying it, unless you can punish some of the leading men, who are oftentimes the encouragers and tools of this iniquitous practice.

I am of opinion, that the same attention ought to be paid to these points, as to the king's edicts concerning contraband trade; yet I will ingenuously own to you that we are equally deficient in both respects. Not but that the means of observing them are possible, as you may judge by the following remarks.

It is evident, that so long as we stand in need of the commodities of our neighbours, we ought to trade with them; it is also evident, that when we can do without those commodities, their trade with us
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may be doubly to our advantage, and of course it is our interest to encourage it, and to put ourselves into that happy situation. But it is equally evident that all intercourse, whatever would become prejudicial to the state, and of course in time to individuals, if by conniving at a contraband trade, we occasioned the ruin of our own commerce and manufactures. Therefore this inconveniency cannot be too much guarded against; for which reason I have thrown together the following hints.

The contraband trade consists in meal, biscuit, pitch, and tar, and all sorts of dry goods, as stuffs, toys, and other English merchandize, but particularly cod-fish. Yet these different sorts of commodities are not only sold in the harbour of Louisburg; but the same trade is also carried on in the other ports and havens of the two islands.

The following is the common practice at Louisburg. The captains of English ships are obliged to shew their bills of lading; but they take care to mention only such goods as are permitted, and so useful to

this colony, that we can neither do without them, nor have them from France. I own indeed that upon their first arrival, a guard is sent on board to prevent breaking bulk, before the vessel has been visited by the officers of the customs, who are to make their report whether there are any other goods than those which the governor and commissary have permitted to be brought ashore, and whether the bill of lading be faithful and exact. But these precautions are of little use. Those who are entrusted with this office, are very remiss. They make this inquest in a careless manner; and after they have done visiting, and the custom-house officer is withdrawn, the English captains, who generally hold a correspondence with private traders in the town, find means in the dark night to smuggle some of the most portable merchandize, unmentioned in the bill of lading. In regard to heavy commodities, such as cod-fish, flour and biscuit, there are likewise merchants in town, who contrive to get those goods removed in the night from

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on board the English into French vessels: some of these they enter, and the remainder they send to other parts of the colony.

There is also another manner of carrying on a contraband trade. Some of our merchants in this place, under pretence of purchasing a quantity of cod-fish at Gaspé, or at Pavo, both of which are dependent on the government of Quebec, and where it is cheaper than in our islands, give directions for buying it in Newfoundland and at the island of St. Peter's, which belong to the English.

Since the restitution of Louisburg, we have frequently seen merchants from the islands of St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and Martinico, who come as passengers on board of English vessels. The captains make some stay here, under pretence of selling off such goods as are permitted, and when they have disposed of part, the pretended passengers ask leave to purchase these very ships together with their cargo's, which consist chiefly in cod and other

merchandize, not mentioned in the bill of lading. Afterwards they dispose of these goods to other parts of the colony, and divide the profits, as it is but just, with the English owners of those ships, who are only at the trouble of changing their flag. On the contrary, should the whole cargo be sold off, the Frenchman, in whose name this ship appears to have been purchased, takes in a little fish merely for form sake, then pretends he has completed his cargo, and is going to sell it at Martinico. The officers belonging to the custom-house believe him upon his word, and sign his bill of lading, upon which he returns very safe to Boston with English hands. At his departure from Louisburg he puts out a French flag; and as soon as he gets to sea, he hoists English colours. The same game he plays after he has taken in what lading of fish he pleases at Boston or elsewhere, and in this manner he arrives safe at the French islands in the West-Indies, where he sells his cargo, for the account of those who employ him in this hazardous practice.

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They do not use so much precaution in the other ports and harbours of Cape Breton. As there have been no officers yet appointed to search foreign vessels, the inhabitants have no scruple to buy their cod; which they afterwards carry to Louisburg, and sell it there, as the produce of their own fishery. Further, there are several merchants at Louisburg, who have commissioners to buy this fish in distant havens, and bring it to this town; then putting it on board their own vessels, where they have some fish already, they export it to the French islands in the West-Indies.

In consequence of these underhand practices, the money goes out of the country; whereas, considering the quantity, and especially the quality of our fish, the balance of trade should be in our favour. Nay, we seem to connive at this abuse, while we are extremely watchful in regard to the negro trade, which is also prohibited. Yet as it is very difficult to commit any fraud in the latter, without being discovered, it needs not such a vigilant eye to

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overlook it; whereas the utmost care is requisite in regard to the former. I shall therefore begin with pointing out some of the particular methods for remedying the above abuses, so far as concerns the harbour of Louisburg.

As soon as the English ships come to an anchor, we ought to send, not only a corporal and four men, according to custom, but likewise an officer, who should stay on board till the search was completed. First, this officer, supposing him an honest man, would in all probability prevent the captain of the ship from bribing the soldiers. Secondly, his presence would induce the custom-house people to do their duty, especially as he would be commissioned to give an account to the governor, of the manner in which every thing was transacted.

It would be likewise necessary, that the persons belonging to the custom-house, on their part, made a strict search into every thing without exception, in the presence of the officer; and it would be proper, now
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and then, to remind them of the order and punctuality, with which this search ought to be performed. In some cases they should make a second search, when those vessels are upon the point of returning to their own country. This happens particularly, when the bill of lading given in by the captains, mentions only such goods, as neither the governor nor the commissary would suffer to be landed; and then it is right and prudent to inquire, whether they carry those goods away with them. In short, this search is absolutely necessary for foreign vessels, which have been permitted to be sold, and to change their flag.

The officers of the customs ought likewise to visit all French vessels, especially those which are said to come from Gaspé, and Paboze or Pavos; for these are the most suspected. But in order intirely to put a stop to this smuggling, the governor of Quebec should appoint some person at Gaspé and Paboze, with a commission to grant certificates to all captains of ships

that took in any lading of cod-fish in those ports, specifying the quantity ; which certificates the captains should be obliged to produce at Louisburg.

When a ship is suspected of having any contraband goods on board, she ought to be ordered upon the key, because there she is more in public view ; besides, no ship and cargo should ever be disposed of, without making a thorough search. The captain of the port ought also to take his rounds every night, in his boat or canoe, with the utmost diligence.

A proper execution of these measures would infallibly prevent any further smuggling at Louisburg.

In regard to the contraband trade carried on in the other ports and havens of the two islands, as there are no custom-house officers to search the ships, the want of these might be supplied by means of redoubts, which the government intends to erect in those parts ; and the commanding officer ought to keep a strict look out to prevent the approach of smugglers and interlopers.

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He should permit no foreign vessels to anchor there at all; consequently they would be obliged to sail directly to Louisbourg. But if bad weather, or some unforeseen accident should constrain any of those vessels to put into some of our harbours, the commander of the nearest redoubt may permit them to take shelter, till they are in a condition to get out to sea again. Still he ought to send a serjeant, or trusty corporal on board, to prevent their landing goods, or any of our people from going near them: this serjeant should remain on board till the time of their departure. Thus the officer, at the same time that he observes the rules of hospitality, in granting all necessary assistance to strangers, may be said to consult the public welfare.

Another part of his duty would be, not to suffer any boat whatever to stir out of the harbour belonging to his own jurisdiction, without having obtained an express permission from himself in writing, and taken the declaration from the captain or commanding officer of the place he is bound

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for ; and at his return he should carefully examine whether he has not brought back any contraband goods with him.

It is however to be presumed, that when the commissioners of the customs come to see redoubts erected in the different ports of the two islands, they will likewise appoint a proper officer to manage their interests: so that at all events, the contraband trade will be intirely suppressed.

But I begin now to perceive, that the part of legislator, which methinks I have acted tolerably well, has carried me far beyond the bounds I had prescribed to myself. I have been so prolix, that there is no room to insert a short memorial of the steps necessary for a private person, or even for a governor, to enrich himself in this place. However, as these hints may be of service to you, I shall, upon some future occasion, communicate them to you in another epistle, after treating of matters more interesting to you at present: besides, the subject being an affair of calculation, is dry enough of itself to be considered as somewhat foreign

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foreign to the purpose. But enough for this
time. I am, &c.

LETTER XV.

*Reflexions, or conjectures on Cape Breton; of
a scheme for making Louisbourg impregnable.
Plans and means proposed to the court of
France by Count de Raymond.*

S I R,

WOULD you imagine it? The plea-
sure I formed to myself in drawing
up the regulations in my last, has been
disturbed by some very ugly reflexions.
Do not think that this is owing to any de-
fect in my projects: far from it, it is rather
because they are extremely reasonable, and
not only useful, but easy to carry into exe-
cution. The beauty of order and method
is obvious to all the world. It fixes the at-
tention of an enemy, who perceiving the
benefits we have reaped from it, grows
jealous at last, and endeavours to deprive
us of this advantage. Besides, as it is an
inconveniency on the one hand, to stand in
need of the daily assistance of our neigh-
bour;

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bour, on the other, it is very dangerous to have no occasion for any dealings with him at all, especially when we must in consequence attempt to deprive him of a most beneficial branch of commerce. For then the old jealousies and animosities revive; difficulties are started; and endeavours are used to defeat our designs, as soon as they are begun to be put into execution. Hence we find, that nothing gives us so much offence, as to see a neighbouring state attempt to shake off a connexion, which has been long to our advantage. Mutual dependance is certainly agreeable to the views of the creation; but that which arises from ignorance on the one hand, and tyranny on the other, is insupportable. These considerations have insensibly led me to an enquiry after a proper remedy against those evils; and the following appeared to me the most advisable. In the first place, I think that we should begin with putting ourselves into a proper state of defence against a foreign force, before we endeavour to rouse it; we should be sure of the utility

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of our schemes, before we published them; and it would be even prudent to relinquish such as could be of no great service to us; because the publication would be attended with more danger than profit. Upon these principles, if the government were in my hands, I should fortify both these islands by degrees, and as it were in the way of amusement. Far from neglecting the security of Louisburg, I should endeavour to render it impregnable, without seeming in the least to alter the present state of commerce. Then finding, that to support this colony, costs the king upwards of a million three hundred thousand livres, I should calculate, as near as possible, how much I should be able to deduct from that sum. I should not think of making an intire reduction, nor trouble my head with a thousand chimerical schemes on this account. The example of an able officer, whom I mentioned to you before, would not tempt me. Would you imagine, Sir, that this man should take it into his head to rectify nature? He found that the cabbage, and
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lettice, with some other legumes, did not turn to a proper account; and therefore he resolved they should make way for the real sources of plenty. In consequence of this noble ambition, he presented a plan to the court, for clearing and manuring all the lands, which were afterwards to produce every sort of grain. This memorial was dated at Louisburg, and might, with a juster title, have been dated from the castle of *Alcine*, or from *Merlin's* cave. It abounded in high speculation; in particular, the rules of multiplication were strained to such a degree, that whereas we have hardly grain enough at present to maintain twelve men, we should have been enabled, by his magic art, to support all the inhabitants of Canada, and no doubt but in time, the whole kingdom of France. But as, in all probability, he would have discovered the secret of changing our dry barren soil, our rocks, and our turf, into fruitful plains; and for my part, I am possessed of no such wonderful power; I shall, therefore, confine myself to what I had been mentioning

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to you already, in regard to the cod-fishery, which indeed is our staple trade, and with proper management, might be rendered a gold mine. Not but something might be done on the island of St. John; which, beside its natural productions in different sorts of wood, of which I had before made mention, is capable of many improvements.

First of all, the fishery alone is a very considerable article. A company that would undertake the management thereof, might, with a little oeconomy, establish a due proportion between the expence and profit; and the country being also more proper for culture, might be parcelled out to such as must be maintained upon the island. The fur trade with the savages, is likewise of very great use towards increasing the demand for our cod-fish; so that all we have to do, is to augment the number of inhabitants. By this step the meadow lands would be improved; the cattle would multiply; and the several spots, fit for sowing of corn, which are not near so scarce as in the isle of Cape Breton, might
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be turned to a good account. This scheme has been often proposed; but never steadily executed; which has been owing to the great poverty of those who are to put it into execution, and to the unfair and imprudent distribution of lands. Neither has there been any greater progress in peopling Labrador. It has been the opinion of a great many, that the fertility of this last country, with the commodiousness of the cod-fishery, would draw over all the Acadians, disaffected to the new government; and that the conveniency of entering upon the fur trade with the savages, who inhabit that country, would be still a further bait. And to obviate the inconveniencies that might arise from these new settlements, and from the vicinity of those very savages, care had been taken to assist the former with advanced sums, in proportion to their necessities, and to keep the latter in awe by strict vigilance and order, and by maintaining a body of regular troops.

There was likewise another scheme, which,

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which, in my humble opinion, was the most plausible of them all. You remember, that upon the first foundation of this colony, they had some notion of fortifying Port Dauphin. I told you their reason for giving the preference to Louisburg. But it was not long before they became sensible of their error. Louisburg, which they looked upon as impregnable; was taken in the last war : this, in all probability, would not have happened to Port Dauphin, or the enemy would have paid so dearly for the acquisition, that we should have no occasion to bewail the loss. These considerations should have immediately determined the government to enter upon such measures, as must have been esteemed a necessary precaution, since the cause of the quarrel still subsisted. But instead of that, the comandant, so often mentioned, and who, if I may take the liberty so to express myself, had lulled the court into a lethargy, proposed some other expedients of security. He took into his head to build redoubts, and for that purpose, opened the

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road of Miré. True it is that thereby he facilitated the communication between Louisbourg and Port Toulouse; but, at the same time, he paved the way for the enemy. For the English would have found it very difficult to march over bogs and precipices; but now the road is like a gravel walk. And very likely you will ask me, what is become of the redoubts? In truth, Sir, there have been none built as yet: though he should have begun with this article. So that I am much afraid, as things are now conducted, that the enemy will benefit by the conveniency, without meeting with the obstruction that should have been annexed to it. In this critical conjuncture, some well-disposed persons have revived the scheme of fortifying Port Dauphin. The advantages of its situation have been again inculcated, especially that arising from the impossibility of entering the harbour with more than one ship at a time. The vicinity of Labrador, which renders the communication from hence, as easy as from any other part of the island, is a great addition

to the importance of the design. I wish we would set about this work in good earnest, that the affair may not end in mere speculation ; because if deferred much longer, it will be too late ; and its getting wind may be of dangerous consequence. For I foresee we shall have only the glory of being inventors of this scheme ; and our sole reward will be the honour we shall claim from the original plan. There is reason to believe, the enemy will soon excuse our carrying it into execution. The storm begins to gather over our heads, and we seem to be but very ill prepared against it. In this respect, our imprudence is so much the greater, as it is impossible for us, without being guilty of the most abject flattery, to say, that we have not contributed to it ourselves. In short, we are not only at the eve of a war, by which we are likely to suffer ; but we have also the misfortune of having given room to say, that however untimely, it is our own fault. The English begin to be roused ; which we have been convinced of for some time. But in order

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to make you fully acquainted with these disturbances, and that you may judge impartially between both nations, we must enter into a discussion of their old quarrels, and the different kinds of hostilities committed on both sides ; for as to their mutual disposition, you are no stranger to it, having been sufficiently informed thereof by my letters. Little does it signify which of the two nations declared themselves openly, the real aggressor is he, that was the cause of the quarrel. Happy, if we could only charge ourselves with having been too precipitate in disclosing our designs ; or, at least, if we had been in a condition to bear the consequences of our imprudence. You see plainly, my dear Sir, that I am unboresoming myself to you with the most unreserved confidence ; which I have always done, and shall always continue to do on the most important occasions. As it is the greatest pain to me to disguise my sentiments, whenever I conceive a dislike ; so I am overjoyed, when I have an opportunity of opening myself to my friend, and declaring

Of the War between &c. 245

declaring the sincere attachment, with which I am devoted to his person. I am, &c.

L E T T E R XVI.

Of the war between the savages and the English. Curious reflexions of the Count de Raymond upon this head.

S I R,

AS the war of the Mickmac, Marichite, and Abenaki savages is, to our great misfortune, very likely to kindle a general combustion, I shall therefore begin to entertain you with a narrative of this event. With regard to the origin, or secret cause of this very same war, it belongs to men of sense and impartiality to determine it. Yet I think some hints may be drawn from a knowledge of the respective interests, which each of the two nations might have to infringe the peace. We ought also to enter into another consideration of equal importance, in order to produce a disposition of doubting, without which it is very difficult to form a right judgment. I shall afterwards entertain you with the different

interests, which the enemy and we may have in going to war, and shall weigh them with the utmost impartiality. The point, at present, is to examine whether the motives which the savages, our allies, had for going to war with the English, were real, or only pretended. If they are solid, there is no sort of doubt, but the English are to blame, for rendering us accountable for their consequences; but if, on the other hand, they should appear to be suggested by us, and invented only as a pretence, then we are certainly the aggressors. For after all, it cannot be said, that in case the savages build their aversion and hostilities on frivolous pretences, that it is not our fault. Every man is answerable for the mischief he approves, and especially when the person that does the mischief is, in some measure, his dependent. But I should be glad they could lay nothing more, than that tacit approbation, to our charge. Can the speech of one of our commandants to the savages, which I gave you word for word, in one of my letters; can it, I say, be so

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favourably interpreted, as to wipe off this stain? The exhortations of priests, who have repeated the same things a thousand times, and enforced them with the different dispensations of religion, of which these poor people think them the supreme depositaries; the purposes ordained by this very religion, as inculcated by these priests; all these circumstances make too much against us, unless our quarrel is founded in the main upon equity and justice. In order to decide this important question, we must first of all know what duties are enjoined by a treaty of peace, and what dispositions it ought to promote in the contracting parties. In the first place it is certain, that a reconciliation, solemnly sworn to, ought to be followed by an absolute pardon of all past provocations and injuries. Could the human breast be so generous as intirely to forget every resentment, the merit would be still the greater; but those who perpetuate their animosity and revenge, without having received a fresh injury or provocation, are guilty of the most horrid perfidiousness

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dioufness. In the second place, a treaty of peace supposeth in the contracting parties, either an incapacity of continuing the war; or motives of conveniency, which make them desire to see an end thereof, or very cogent reasons which oblige them to it. In either of those three cases is it not certain, that we ought to resolve to comply with a duty, which we are convinced, at the same time, is become an act of necessity? And is it not very probable, that though this resolution may be somewhat involuntary in the beginning, yet it will afterwards fit easy upon our minds from our natural disposition to society and repose? And can there be a more effectual method to weaken the strength of the passions, which have operated under particular circumstances, than to vary the scene by a more agreeable course of amusements?

I do not mean to speak here of those ambitious statesmen, (to give them no worse epithet) whose minds are full of craft and deceit; whose hearts are compounded of ambiguity; who, in every treaty of peace,
con-

contrive to insert such clauses, as shall furnish them with a pretence to renew the war. I beg you will remember, that I am speaking of savages, such as I have already described to you, and such as they are in reality; consequently, that I am speaking only of a simple people, whose tricks and cunning are but momentary starts; whose views and pursuits seldom go beyond the necessities of life; whose passions, after the first indulging, generally subside; who moreover are of an open disposition, and remarkable for a certain frankness in their behaviour, which though it may be somewhat rustic, yet is not so dangerous, as the address of a polite dissembler. Yet these are the men that violated the peace, to which they had consented together with us, and who have alledged such motives in their defence as perhaps we ourselves should have been ashamed of. Though in the recapitulation of the grievances, the memory of which we took such particular care to preserve, you have seen the greatest part of what the savages alledge, still it is proper to

to lay them once more before you. The same commanding officer, who knew them so well, has explained himself to court upon this subject, in the following terms.

“ The savages have never been able to forget, the several efforts which the English in North America have used, at the time of their first settling in that country, in order to complete their utter destruction: which is the reason that they have continually sought for opportunities to shew their utmost resentment. They have ever had present to their memories, the actions I am going to mention.”

But as this is only a recital of what I wrote to you in a former letter, I refer you to that once more, and as soon as you have perused it, you may return to what follows :

“ Towards the beginning of the year 1750, the English, upon their arrival at Chebukto, caused a report to be spread, that they were going to extirpate the savages; and they seemed to act accordingly, by sending different detachments

“ of

“ of their troops in pursuit of those poor
“ people. The savages being alarmed at
“ this behaviour, resolved to declare open
“ war against those whom they ever consi-
“ dered as their enemies; and notwith-
“ standing the weak condition they were
“ reduced to by the peace, which we had
“ concluded with the English, they deter-
“ mined to lose no opportunity, but to fall
“ upon them immediately. Besides, the
“ English settlement at Chebukto hath
“ provoked them to such a degree, that
“ there is room to believe, they will be
“ for ever irreconcilable.

“ And let it not be imagined, that the
“ missionaries of the savages have any hand
“ in this proceeding; were we to attend
“ to the conduct they observed in the last
“ war, we should find quite the contrary.
“ How many acts of cruelty would have
“ been committed by this nation, who are
“ naturally of a revengeful disposition, did
“ not the missionaries interpose in the
“ strongest manner to restrain them? It is
“ very well known, that the savages ima-
“ gine

“ gine that they may commit what violence
“ they please against their enemies. And,
“ indeed, it has cost an infinite deal of
“ pains to check this vindictive disposition,
“ which they thought they might lawfully
“ indulge by way of reprisals ; and this
“ charitable zeal has saved the life of many
“ an Englishman.

“ These very missionaries have it in their
“ power to shew manuscript copies of the
“ instructions, which they gave to the sa-
“ vages, concerning the moderation and
“ humanity we are bound to use, even in
“ time of war. They have likewise com-
“ posed, on this very subject, a kind of
“ catechism, which they teach the children,
“ and it hath been already productive of
“ excellent effects.”

Should not you be apt to determine from
this memorial, that we did not blow the
coals ? Independently of the harangue, with
which both you and I are so greatly taken,
was I to blame in saying, that such far
fetched motives, the effect of which, in
pursuance of the principle above laid down,
ought

ought to have been defeated by the peace, cannot but render us suspected?

Yet there seems to be another cause of ill-humour and alarm, of a modern date. I mean the settlement made by the English at Chebukto, and the menaces that followed. I should be glad that the public, whenever this point comes to be discussed, would suspend their judgment; nay, I should be greatly pleased to find myself mistaken; for it must be always painful to a man of honour, to disbelieve the apology of those who want to justify their conduct, especially when he happens to have an intimate connexion with them. But since I have the misfortune of knowing some facts which determine my opinion; and I should be sorry you were to consider this as owing to party or prejudice; and besides, as I promised to deal with such sincerity towards you, as whatever passes between us should be an eternal secret; I shall continue to communicate to you whatever I know concerning this matter.

In the sequel of this memorial, which

was

was presented to the court, the commandant is said to have added the following reflections.

" In drawing up the preceding memorial, I have had different views. I was willing to demonstrate, that France had no share in the declaration of war, which the savages made against the English; and that the motives of the former were just and well-founded. The particulars relating to these motives were communicated to me by a missionary of credit, who is a very honest man. Yet the minister may easily guess, that I have drawn this memorial in such a manner, as it may be shewn to the ambassadors of his Britannic Majesty; and that I have taken care not to insert any of the barbarous proceedings of the savages. Besides, I have been at the same pains here to justify our conduct; for at my arrival, I found a great many, who were of opinion that we were in the wrong.

" True it is, that the officers who commanded the detachments sent by the governor

" vernor of Canada, may have misbehaved
" in some particulars, especially in suffer-
" ing the savages to come too near their
" posts, or to join their troops to ours
" within sight of the English.

" I fancy I have likewise put a stop to
" the complaints, which the English might
" make against those savages, who being
" only allies, and not subjects of France,
" cannot be hindered by us, from declaring
" war whenever they please. In a word,
" if I have sufficiently demonstrated, as I
" think I have, the justice of these people's
" cause in going to war, what have the
" English to say to us, if we only protect
" them underhand, and do not suffer them
" to mingle with our troops, &c."

What is your opinion, Sir, of these de-
clarations? *a great many of our people seemed*
to think that we were in the wrong. Then
why should not the English, and even
those who are unconcerned in the quarrel,
be of the same opinion? *Our officers have*
committed some mistakes, that is, to speak in-
genuously, they have committed hostilities:

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How can the English forbear making reprisals; and in that case, who would be the aggressor? And what think you of all these reflexions, and this mysteriousness in regard to public affairs? I confess I do not like them. Independently of so many circumstances, I should have formed this simple reasoning; the savages have a thousand motives for being attached to the French; for instance, motives of religion, and consequently of confidence in their legislators; motives of sympathy, either from a real similitude of inclination in a great many things, or from a seeming conformity, which an obliging disposition renders more easy; and lastly, motives of conveniency, from their situation, manner of life and conversation.

In all these respects, the savages and the English are diametrically opposite to each other; consequently, no likelihood that the latter could have any influence over the former. Besides, the step they took, by committing most barbarous hostilities against that nation, convinces us that they were not skirmishes, intended to bring on a general

neral war. In a word, which of the two nations, the English or the French, had most interest in this war, or at least in disturbing their neighbour, is what remains to be considered. But I shall reserve my reflexions on this subject for my next, after which I promise you a faithful narrative of what has been transacted on both sides, as each of them tell their story. However, enough has been said upon the present article, to leave very little matter of doubt.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R XVII.

Reflexions on the cause and origin of the present war. These are not the Count de Raymond's reflexions.

S I R,

I N order to examine the present question, that is, to know which of the two nations at variance had the greatest interest to begin the war, we must go back to the source of the quarrel.

The famous treaty of Utrecht, to which, as the English pretend, France owes her

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preservation; and which the French, nevertheless, consider as a dangerous remedy, though necessary at that critical juncture; this famous treaty, I say, must have been always viewed by able politicians, in a point of light equally opposite to both these ideas. First, notwithstanding the extremity to which France was reduced, a treaty which left her at the mercy of her hereditary enemy, was but a temporary reconciliation, and far from being a means to save her from ruin. Secondly, we have no reason to be pleased with a physician who does no more than palliate a distemper, when this very palliative lays the foundation of a malady, which proves inevitably mortal. Ambition had engaged us in a war, which we ought by all means to have avoided. The apprehension of its consequences made us too precipitate in concluding a peace, which we should not perhaps have purchased so dear, had we received the law from our enemies combined. For, let us suppose that France had been compelled at that time to relinquish the Spanish succession

to the house of Austria, and the barrier towns to the importunity of the Dutch, would not she have been able in time to repair these losses? But the English would also have insisted upon her share of the spoils; no doubt of it: yet this share would have been in proportion to the loss sustained upon the whole. Besides, the jealousy which the allies began to conceive of the English, would have greatly diminished the proportion of the latter; and perhaps those seeds of division alone would have preserved a power, which they wanted rather to reduce, than intirely to demolish. It is however certain, that the French government, under that dread and apprehension, could not think of a worse method of attaining a little respite, in the opinion of all good judges. It would have been a hundred times better for us, had the sacrifices, which we were obliged to make, been within our reach; we might, at least, have taken an opportunity to recover them again, if ever we repented our bargain. But when we enabled an enemy, almost inaccessible,

cessible, to aggrandize himself to such a degree at our expence, that nothing could hinder him from swallowing up the remainder of our possessions, whenever he pleased, was not this much the same as giving ourselves up to him, with our hands and feet tied? The naval force of Great-Britain is formidable, even to nations that have been at greater pains than we to rival them on that element; how much more so must it have appeared to the French, who have never made the first figure as a maritime power? Upon yielding Acadia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay to the English, what resource had we left, in case our new friends should have been tempted by this bait, to covet the rest of our possessions? Could it enter into our heads, that by rendering them more powerful upon an element, the empire of which we have ever in vain disputed with them, we should be the more able to defend ourselves against an attack, after we had wantonly exposed ourselves to danger? Did we imagine, that we could invade them with flat-bottomed boats,

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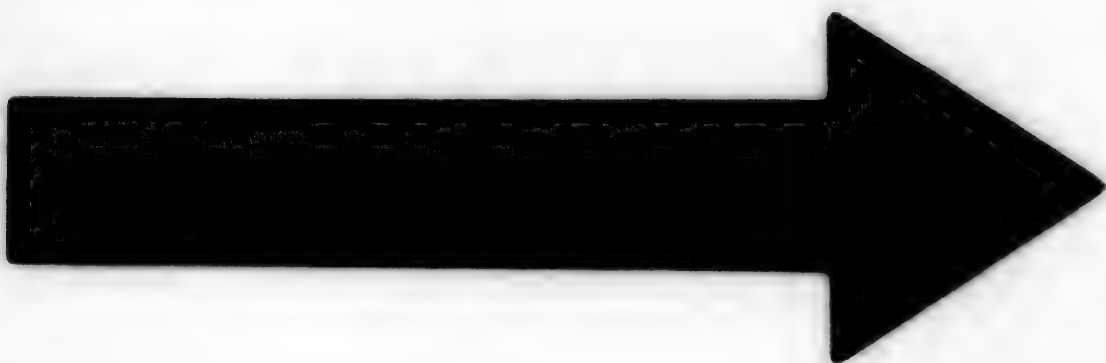
or fit out great fleets to cope with them at sea, with the same ease as we might march an army into Flanders, or send a hundred thousand men upon any of our frontiers? No, it is impossible our ministers could have dreamt of such chimeras; and the decay of our marine but too plainly proves, it never so much as entered their heads. Once more I repeat it; the treaty of Utrecht was the effect of consternation and despair; the articles were drawn up, without the least regard to prudence, and I doubt whether they were signed with sincerity. Be that as it may, I believe it was our interest not to break it, till we could form ourselves into a situation that depended on a thousand concurrent circumstances, which we had put altogether out of our power to combine. But having found since by experience, how difficult it was to raise ourselves to so favourable a situation, and having discovered to our cost, how greatly we had exposed our weak side to the enemy, we began at last to think, that in order to prevent the intire ruin of our colonies, it

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was incumbent upon us to make the most vigorous efforts. These considerations led us back to the treaty, which had reduced us to that melancholy situation; and we found one way to get off. Whether this was left open with design, or whether our necessities unclosed our eyes, still we were under the same difficulty to make use of it. To wrest a treaty to our interest, or even to break through it at once, is no such great matter, when we have the greater weight of power on our side; otherwise it is a very dangerous attempt. In the latter case, the scheme may even prove detrimental to the projector, if he is not a person of superior skill and stratagem. It is therefore evident, that we should have used all possible endeavours, to recover that degree of force, which was necessary to loosen our chains; and it is equally evident, that we ought not to have given time to the enemy to rivet those chains too fast. Neither is it less manifest, that all these steps should have been taken gradually; for instance, we ought

ought to have started a dispute, as it were by chance, after which we might have insensibly enlarged the object, and gained ground continually, at the same time that we concealed our design as much as possible, and were even protesting the innocence of our intention; in a word, we ought to have steadily pursued this measure, till the time came that we were strong enough to pull off the mask, and to act without constraint.

Such is the conduct we ought, in good policy, to have observed, and what some pretend we have observed. Can we therefore consider the accusation as absurd? No surely, the most we could do would be to deny it; for people very often omit doing, what one would naturally think they ought to have done. We should therefore, in that case, have recourse to proofs: but supposing these are contradictory; supposing the same actions are related in a different manner by the opposite parties, we must then have recourse to the motives that determined their actions.



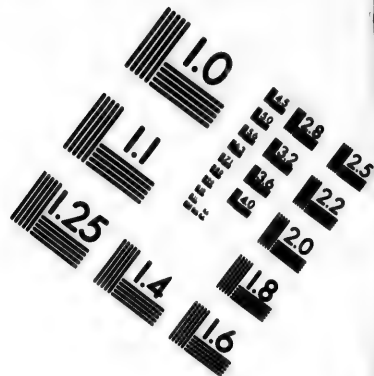
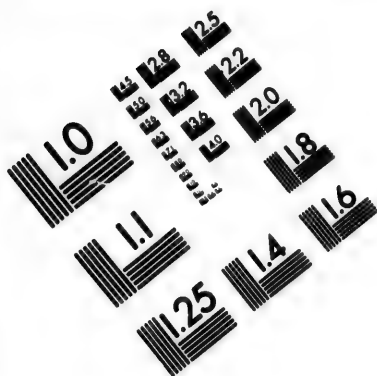
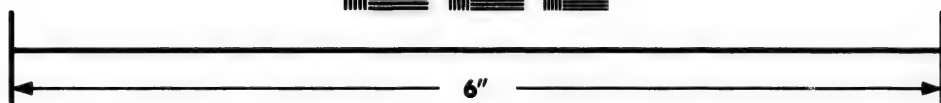
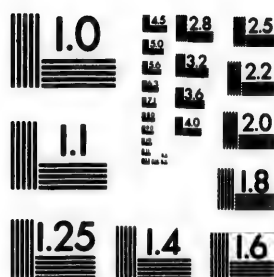


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But here a notion occurs to me, by which this affair might very easily be determined, without disallowing the pretensions of either of the parties.

The French say, they did not want to go to war; but it was the English who desired it: they say very true, if they mean an open and declared war. The English pretend, they were attacked, and obliged to defend themselves: true, if by attacks they mean some little attempts made gradually, to dislodge a formidable neighbour, and a few precautions taken to put it intirely out of that enemy's power to do us any harm. You see, Sir, we may reconcile both parties, since the events have two different aspects, and it is our business to examine them thoroughly, when there is no longer any possibility to recall them. Yet in all probability, if the power of enchanting was still in fashion, as it is said to have formerly been, there would be no dispute at all in regard to this matter. We should have begged the favour of some magician to fascinate the eyes of our enemies, to render the
ships

ships we were building, and the forts we were erecting, altogether invisible till the very moment it was proper to draw the curtain; for if we could have disclosed our design with impunity, they would not have had a word to say to us. On the other hand, if the English had suspected any thing of the matter, they would have had recourse in private, to the same good friends as ourselves, and would have learnt how to defeat our designs, without being so brutish as to seize on our ships, and to fire against us the first. Pardon me, Sir, if for a moment I treat a very serious subject in a ludicrous manner. I am diverted to see people raising doubts where the subject will not bear any; and to hear a thousand disputes about an empty ceremony, with a multitude of arguments to justify, or condemn the want of form in a quarrel, while they give themselves no sort of pains to examine the main point in question. For my part, I think that without such a number of arguments and invectives, one need only to say, that it was the interest of France to wage war; but she

was

was in no hurry; for she wanted to gain her ends by slow and sure measures. England had no motive in the world to desire a war; but her enemy furnished her with good reasons, and she did not chuse to wait for their conveniency. The former hath undertaken a point, which good policy directed her to undertake; the latter hath discovered what necessity obliged her to discover; one perhaps went too slowly to work, and the other too quick: both of them are in the wrong, till the fanning up of the quarrel, when right will be on the strongest side.

I grant you, that this way of reasoning is not agreeable to all the world; neither do I write to all the world, but only to you. Yet, if after reasoning upon this matter, as you are very capable of doing, you should be desirous of seeing how other people argue, I have promised you the narrative of several transactions that have happened in this country, without being answerable for the truth of any of them, though they happened almost under my own eye; for, to be plain with you, I can

scarce

scarce believe any body but myself. In short, it shall be a regular pleading; each party is to tell his reasons, and you shall be judge. I begin therefore with ourselves, which is very natural; besides, we pretend to be the injured party, and God grant we may not have reason to say so hereafter, in the full extent of the word. I doubt at least whether the enemy will dispute with us about the justice of our complaint, if ever they carry their point; But that is a kind of consolation, which neither you nor I desire to see. The wishes of an honest man ought to be for the honour of his country; as those of a good citizen ought to be for her welfare. Happy is he, who finds no opposition between those two objects!

I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER XVIII.

Account of what the Count de Raymond wrote to the French ministry concerning the pretended grievances against the English, whom he accused of being inclined to quarrel with us.

SIR,

ITOLD you that I should begin with our complaints against the English, and I intend now to keep my word. You will find nothing relative to the pretensions of our enemies, for we do not trace matters so high, and you shall receive the information from them. The present point relates only to ourselves, and to the charge we bring against that nation, but in order to state the affair clearly, I shall once more borrow the words of the commandant, whom I mentioned to you before.

“ The following extract (this is what he writes to court) containeth the transactions between the French and English on the frontiers of New France and Acadia, since the peace of 1748, in which it is

“ clearly

" clearly proved, that the English, on several occasions, violated the last, as well as former treaties.

" The governor of New France having received advice in 1750, that the English were going to send troops to those parts, which were still in contest between France and England, and at the time when commissaries were appointed to regulate the limits, he ordered a detachment of troops to advance that way. Yet he gave directions to the commanding officer, to undertake nothing whatever that was capable of altering the good harmony which subsisted between the two courts; to avoid, by all means, being the aggressor; but only to repel force by force, in case he was attacked.

" The Chevalier de la Corne, who commanded this French detachment, espied on the 12th of September 1750, in Fundi Bay, seventeen sail of different sizes, which came to an anchor the 13th at Westak; and the 15th some of them parted from the rest, and arrived in Fundi Bay.

" The

" clearly

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" The Chevalier de la Corne was then at
 " *Point à Beaufejour*, within five leagues of
 " *Bay Verte*, which is separated from
 " Fundi Bay only by a small river, called
 " *Mesagoueche*, or Saint Mary. He had
 " left part of his detachment at *Weskak*,
 " under the command of the *Sieur de la*
 " *Valiere*, captain of a company of the
 " troops of *Louisburg*, who perceiving two
 " English boats, with twenty armed men
 " in each, and colours flying; and judging
 " that their design was to make themselves
 " masters of some *pirogues* in the river of
 " *Weskak*, which were stationed there with
 " a view to secure the communication be-
 " tween his detachment and that of the
 " Chevalier de la Corne, he dispatched two
 " officers, with forty men, to enquire into
 " the real intention of the English. The
 " latter cocked their pieces twice, doubtless
 " with a view of inducing the French to
 " fire first. But the orders to our people
 " of not acting offensively, were too clear
 " to admit of the least contravention on our
 " part. This the English perceiving, re-
 " solved

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" solved nevertheless to break through all
" restraint of treaty. They shot two
" musket balls at us, which we answer-
" ed with so brisk a discharge, that they
" were obliged to retire, greatly confounded
" at their being the first infringers of the
" peace. Yet they did not stop here; but
" immediately erected a fort at Fundi Bay,
" which is situated on a spot disputed be-
" tween the two crowns, and far be-
" yond the bounds of that territory which
" France lays claim to. It was not, till
" after the erecting of this fort, that the
" Chevalier de la Corne built that of *Point*
" *à Beaufejour*. These are facts which
" prove, that the English, in open defiance
" of the law of nations, have in full peace
" been the first to commit hostilities against
" the French, and took upon them of their
" own heads to regulate the limits, for which
" the two crowns had appointed commissa-
" ries. *MOORE'S HISTORY OF THE INDIANS*
" They likewise commenced hostilities
" against the French the following year.
" In the month of June 1752, a detach-
" ment

" ment of about three hundred English
 " troops, marched in the dead of the night
 " from a new fort, which they had erected
 " within a small distance of that of Fundi
 " Bay. By break of day they were within
 " sight of the bridge of Buot, where there
 " was a little French post, which the
 " English no doubt intended to surprize,
 " since they had passed the river between
 " them and this post, and begun, as soon
 " as it was day, to fire upon our peo-
 " ple. But the Sieur de Saint Ours, who
 " was at the Point of Beaufejour, and had
 " relieved the Chevalier de la Corne in the
 " command of those posts, having had
 " timely notice to give them a warm recep-
 " tion; they were obliged to retire.

" Here we have clearly demonstrated an
 " exprefs violation of the treaty of Aix-la-
 " Chapelle, on the part of the English;
 " we shall now give an instance of the fair
 " proceedings of the French towards them,
 " and in what manner we were requited.

" The 15th of February 1751, a small
 " vessel, in her way from Boston to Fundi

" Bay,

" Bay, was driven by tempestuous weather
" on the coast of Weskak. The captain
" came and put himself under the protection
" of the Sieur Bailleul, who commanded
" on that post. This officer having been
" apprized, that the savages were flocking
" from that side, ordered the captain and
" his crew to be concealed at Weskak mill,
" till the savages, who wanted to kill every
" man of them, were retired. He then
" sent them back to the commanding officer
" at Fort Lawrence, who wrote a letter of
" thanks to the Sieur de St. Ours.

" In the month of July following, a small
" vessel, bound also from Boston to Fundi
" Bay, was forced by a violent gale of wind
" upon a coast inhabited by savages, at
" which time an English ship lay over
" against them, that is, before Weskak.
" The savages ran down to the coast, and
" hid themselves behind a bank or causey,
" till low water, and then they boarded
" the vessel. The Sieur de St. Ours being
" informed of this, dispatched an officer to
" the Abbé le Loutre, their missionary, to

T

" prevent

" Bay,

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" prevent them from killing the captain
 " and his crew. In short, we were obliged
 " to use both entreaties and menaces with
 " those people to get the English out of
 " their hands, and the Abbé le Loutre
 " was also under a necessity of paying their
 " ransom. Upon which, the Sieur de St.
 " Ours sent them back safe and sound; and
 " Mr. Henry Luttrell, who had then the
 " command at Fundi Bay, returned him a
 " great many thanks.

" Notwithstanding all these kind offices,
 " the English still persisting in their acts
 " of hostility, the soldiers or crew belong-
 " ing to one of their ships which lay off
 " Weskak, landed upon the French terri-
 " tory, and pursued some of the inhabi-
 " tants that were going to *Point à Beaufe-*
 " *jour*. The Sieur de St. Ours wrote a
 " letter of complaint about this matter to
 " Mr. Luttrell, who ordered the messenger to
 " tell him, that he would send an answer
 " the next day. The same night he order-
 " ed a detachment of his troops, with two
 " field pieces, to pass the river of St. Mary,
 " which

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" which

" which is the boundary of the French and
" English posts, and to demolish part of a
" bank or rising ground on the side of the
" French. Upon this, the Sieur de St.
" Ours wrote the next day again to Mr.
" Luttrell. The purport of his letter was;
" he could not help being greatly sur-
" prized that the English troops should in-
" vade the territory under his command;
" especially as it had been agreed, that each
" side should wait quietly for the regulation
" of the limits, and Messieurs de la Jon-
" quieres and Cornwallis had given orders,
" that no hostilities should be committed on
" either side; lastly, that he would make
" him answerable for all the consequences
" that might happen, and for violating the
" treaties. This did not hinder Mr. Luttrell
" from causing a detachment of about an
" hundred men to pass the river the same
" night upon a ponton, with two field
" pieces, in order to demolish that causey
" intirely. The Sieur de St. Ours having
" had intelligence of this in the morning,
" marched with his troops directly towards

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“ the spot. As soon as the English saw
“ them drawing near the river, they fired
“ upon our men, and after a few shot
“ exchanged on both sides, the former re-
“ tired.

“ The Sieur de St. Ours having writ once
“ more to Mr. Luttrell, desiring him to ex-
“ plain the motives of his conduct towards
“ the French, received an answer, the copy
“ of which was sent to the ministry. These
“ two pieces confirm the continuance of the
“ hostile proceedings of the English.

“ Neither did they confine themselves to
“ this open war by land, but committed the
“ same violation of treaties in the seas of
“ North America, with the utmost licen-
“ ciousness, as will appear by the following
“ extracts.

“ Ever since the year 1749, the time
“ when the English began to come over in
“ crowds to Chebukto, in order to settle in
“ that country, the French could not navi-
“ gate with any safety along the east coast,
“ or even in the neighbourhood of the isle
“ of Canso and the bay of Chedabouktok,
“ because

" because of the frequent menaces of that
" nation. They continued to build vessels
" of all sizes, to seize on every thing they
" met with, and even on the persons of sea-
" men, which was done on several occa-
" sions. This very year, at Petit Degrat
" in Cape Breton, they took three shallops,
" with all the crew, whom they set ashore
" for a while, but obliged them to go on
" board again, and sent them back by
" land, after plundering them of all the
" cod which they had caught on the coast
" of Martengo.

" When they had made their settlements
" at Chebukto, they sent out detachments
" all over Acadia, without any regard to
" ancient treaties, to oblige the French and
" their families to continue there with their
" goods and effects, as well moveable as im-
" moveable; otherwise to depart from thence,
" without taking away the least thing.

" In August and September they seized
" on two missionaries, namely, the Sieur
" Girard at Cobequit, whom they kept pri-
" soner upwards of three months at Che-

"bukto; and the Sieur la Goudalie, whom
"they obliged to return to France.

"Since their settling at Chebukto, they
"have constantly kept ships of force cruizing
"in the passage of Fronsac, under pretence
"of transporting cattle from Acadia to the
"island of St. John, or to Cape Breton.
"They have likewise committed several
"other hostilities against the French vessels
"going and coming from Cape Breton to
"St. John's, so as to use the respective crews
"extremely ill, and to seize on their cargoes,
"and sometimes their vessels, notwithstanding
"that they produced the most authentic
"passports. If they have not acted this
"year in the above manner, it is because
"France being informed of these proceedings,
"has kept some frigates cruizing on
"that coast.

"In the month of September 1749, Mr.
"Joseph Gorhron, an English captain of a
"privateer, had the assurance to appear off
"the coast of Cape Breton, and even to
"touch at Port Toulouse without permission,
"and repeated this piracy several times.

"In

" In 1750 they took, in the Strait of
" Fronfac, one John Michaux, an inhabi-
" tant of Port Toulouse, together with his
" boat, which they towed behind their ship:
" then they obliged this man to pilot them
" as far as Point Prime, in the island of St.
" John, where they made him land, in or-
" der to look out for provisions, and to beg
" leave for them to come ashore; and the
" Sieur Bonaventure, the commanding offi-
" cer in that island, granted their request.

" In the month of August of the same
" year 1750, Joseph le Blanc, an inhabitant
" of Port Toulouse, was taken by the Eng-
" lish, and detained prisoner, together
" with several other French men and wo-
" men, during the space of eight days; at
" the expiration of which they were suffered
" to depart, after they had been stripped of
" their canoe, and of every thing in it.

" There are several other facts of the like
" nature, which we pass over in silence, and
" which have happened since the peace, by
" reason that we have not at present the
" names of those who have been sufferers by

" the English; yet the facts are certain.
 " The 18th of the same month of August
 " 1750, an inhabitant of Cobeguit, by name
 " John Ferguson, was taken by the English
 " in the London, from Quebec, commanded
 " by Captain Jaluim, just at the entrance
 " of Vixchu. They carried the vessel
 " to Chebukto, though there were only
 " some Acadian families on board, that
 " wanted to retire to Port-la-Joye in the
 " island of St. John, together with their
 " moveables and effects: but the English
 " took all they had.

" These outrages were only a prelude to
 " the violence committed by Mr. Roux, cap-
 " tain of a frigate belonging to the king of
 " Great-Britain, who had the assurance to
 " attack one of the king's brigantines,
 " named St. Francis, on the 16th of Octo-
 " ber 1750, laden with provisions, clothes,
 " and arms, for the French posts on the
 " river of St. John. This brigantine was
 " carried to Halifax, and declared a good
 " prize, though the governor, upon re-
 " ceiving an account of the circumstances,
 " had

" had declared that Mr. Roux was in the
 " wrong, and had even ordered provisions
 " on board the brigantine, with an intent of
 " sending her back. But as the papers and
 " declarations of what passed in regard to
 " this affair, have been transmitted to court
 " by Messieurs Desherbiers and Prevost, we
 " shall wave entering any further upon this
 " article.

" It is most notorious, that there has
 " hardly a month passed since the conclud-
 " ing of the last peace, in which the English
 " privateers have not infested these coasts.
 " They have even appeared at the mouth
 " of our harbours, as if they really in-
 " tended to frighten us; and no doubt
 " but their design was to sound these har-
 " bours, in order to invade us, upon the
 " first favourable occasion; and sometimes
 " we have seen five of their ships employed
 " in this business at a time.

" The 28th of the same month of Au-
 " gust 1751, an English *garda costa*, sta-
 " tioned near *Point à Beaufejour*, fired se-
 " veral times upon a French canoe, in
 " which

" which there was an officer, who had been
" sent from his post to *Beaufejour*, in search
" of provisions. The ship's boat, with several
" armed men, rowed after the canoe ;
" so that the officer and three soldiers,
" which was all the company he had with
" him, were obliged to save themselves
" ashore. After exchanging a few shot on
" both sides, the English returned to their
" ship."

Here, Sir, you have a list of our grievances. The commandant of Cape Breton, who drew it up, would have had a more spacious field to display his eloquence, if he had continued here much longer ; for since his departure, there have been many other subjects of the like complaint. Yet I beg you will take notice of the evil genius of the inhabitants of this country : is it not amazing, that after such a series of English cruelties, any of our people should have been so weak as to think we were in the wrong ; and perhaps, to insist in this opinion, had it not been for the trouble the governor took to undeceive us ? For after all, this
charitable

charitable reflexion on our conduct, was subjoined to the memorial, which he had annexed to the justification of the savages; the whole, as you know very well, for the inspection of the English commissaries.

It is however but fair, notwithstanding what the commandant may say, (for there was no love lost betwixt us) to add a word or two in justification of our opinion, which he has not refuted so strongly as he imagined.

We all believed at that time, and for my part I do still believe, that we ought not to judge of the justice of the cause of either side, from the actions of individuals; but from the nature of the dispute, which gave rise to those actions; that is, we ought not to judge by the effect, but by the cause. As for our upbraiding the English, because we have done some acts of humanity to people of that nation, the charge is not only groundless, but puerile; the former, because the generosity of a few individuals, which has frequently met with an equal return from the enemy, does by no means deter-

determine the interest of a nation; the latter, because those very individuals had it not in their power to comply with those impulses of humanity, but on those particular occasions; in every other respect, they were obliged to follow the orders of their respective sovereigns, to whom alone it belongs to determine the real interests of their people. Consequently there is no ingratitude, where duty and necessity are both a sufficient plea.

With regard to the true reasons of the measure that followed, I think I may enter into a discussion of them with such a friend as you; which I shall take the liberty to do, after I have informed you of the grievances complained of by the English, and of their answer to ours, which I propose doing in my next. I am,

Yours, &c.

Yours, &c.

Yours, &c.

Yours, &c.

Yours, &c.

Yours, &c.

Yours, &c.

L E T.

L E T T E R XIX.

Discussion of the causes of the war ; facts proved by the English, which refute the charge of their enemies, and justify their own conduct.

S I R,

THE English, previous to their answer to our complaints, propose a question, which every body living is capable of answering, if we will not ; it is this : the party who has bore with all kinds of insult, private and public ; who through moderation, love of peace, and perhaps through imprudence, has patiently submitted to the encroachments of an active and vigilant enemy ; quære, whether that party is obliged to sit down quietly till he is completely ruined, upon pain of being considered as an unjust aggressor ? Indeed there is so very little doubt concerning this point, and the law of self-preservation and defence, which nature has imprinted in our hearts, is so clear and expers, that our enemy immediately
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proceed to prove their charge. And first of all, they condemn themselves for being so easy as to suffer our encroachments and usurpations in the several colonies bordering on our frontiers; and it is very certain, that here they are in the right. What a blindness must it have been in them to suffer us so tamely to erect our forts on the back of their colonies, on the Ohio, and in other places? Did they imagine we should not have sense enough to conclude, that their acquiescence was more than a tacit confession, of our right to those lands, which they did not hinder us from possessing? Or did they pretend to hurt us more by depriving us of a property acquired, than by opposing our acquisition? In truth, I think that either way they were much in the wrong. The former was too hazardous a presumption; the latter, too ingenious a refinement. But whatever they thought about this matter, I can hardly believe they ever dreamed of what has happened. And how could they foresee, that our daily encroachments should not only invest us with
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the property of the lands we usurped, but likewise give us a right to exclude our good-natured neighbours from any share? Hence they were in the utmost astonishment, when coming to look about them a little upon the back of their settlements, they heard us say, Gentlemen, pray retire, here are boundaries, which you must not pass. Where are those boundaries, they cried out, and who has a right to prescribe any to us in a country that is our own property? Nature, we answered them. Nature knew we should have need of a communication with our colony of Mississippi; that this communication would be very near your settlements; and she has placed the Apalachian mountains betwixt us; this is a natural barrier.

What do you think of this dialogue? Don't you imagine the English might further add: Yes, indeed, we have in some measure reason to believe, that nature intended to favour you in this respect, since she bewitched us to such a degree, as hath enabled you to interpret her laws? But they

they made no such remark. They were satisfied with referring to the general laws and customs of nations. Upon this footing they observed, that ever since the first discovery of America, there had not been the least doubt about the property now disputed; that the Spaniards, and all other nations, had been ever considered, as masters of the inland country, wherever they had taken possession of the sea-coast, unless some other European nation had been settled there before them; that this kind of possession being generally allowed, it was not only unfair, but absurd, to make exceptions against the English; that their forbearance, in regard to the encroachments of the French, ought not to deprive them of the advantage of this general rule, because a mere forbearance never was considered as an absolute agreement, or acquiescence, much less as a renunciation of established rights; therefore as they never imagined there could be any other boundaries, in respect to their settlements on the banks of the Ohio, than the South-Sea westward, their

their own pleasure, or an opposition from the natives of the country, they could not have presumed, that their easy temper in suffering the French to occupy part of a country, of which they had no need at that time, should make them forfeit their right of dominion, and even deprive them of the country which they actually occupied, or render it more burdensome than useful to them.

Do not you think it is a very easy matter to determine a right, acknowledged in every other case but that in debate, where it is the interest of one of the parties not to acknowledge it? Do not you think the point too clear to take up any more of our time? Would not you say boldly, if you were not a Frenchman, let us do as we would be done by, without wresting a general rule to our own private purpose? At least, I think so; but should not you be tempted to adapt this same reasoning to the other point, which we would fain represent as dubious between the English and us; I mean the dispute about the limits of Acadia.

When the English, before the treaty of Utrecht, dispossessed us of that country, which is comprized under the name of Acadia, did not we demand it back again under the same name, and had not we the very same idea of it, as our enemies have at present? At what time did we alter our notion about its limits? If we had the same certainty concerning this article, as we pretend to at present, how came we to give the denomination of the smallest part to the whole, which we demanded back again? Do you think, that if we had taken possession of England, the English would imagine they had demanded a full restitution, only by mentioning the county of Surry? But if people would explain themselves sufficiently, when the point was only concerning a restitution (and in that case it would be agreeing they had the same notions) ought not they at least to explain themselves when the question related to a cession absolute and irrevocable? What should we think of the English, if after ceding Virginia, or some other colony to us, they were to say: You

are

are much mistaken, if you imagined that we intended to yield the whole country called Virginia at the time of the resignation; we only designed to give you our original settlement? This is what we heretofore called Virginia, and really belongs to you; all the rest is still our property. This subterfuge in the beginning would make us laugh (for that is the first effect an object of ridicule hath upon a Frenchman, let the consequence be what it will) and afterwards we should rail in the English way, with as much apparent slegm, as real fury. But did the French continue to live in that country, which we are no longer willing to consider as part of Acadia, after the treaty of Utrecht? Yes, surely, the English will reply; nay, we had made this a condition. It behoved us, that the country we had so lately acquired, should not be depopulated immediately; but at present we would sooner chuse to see it intirely waste, than to find that our new subjects held a secret correspondence with our enemies, or that we should be perpetually obliged to be upon

our guard against the snares of those, whom we ourselves enabled to hurt us.

I know not what answer can be given to these reasons: indeed the shortest way is to deny their solidity; and do you imagine it would be worth while to prove it? No surely; therefore both nations have thought proper, for motives of a different nature, but easy to guess at, to drop the original cause of the quarrel, which was too trifling for one side to merit a longer dispute, and of too much consequence to the other to answer all objections. It remains therefore for us to imitate their conduct; and since while they amuse themselves with the expectation of a peace, they only rail at one another for having commenced the war, let us follow their example.

You see, Sir, that with my wonted impartiality, I have weighed our grievances, together with the strong reasons we have to complain of the English; you have likewise seen, that notwithstanding my natural inclination, I have shewn too great a re-
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gard for truth to make the balance preponderate on our side. Let us now inquire whether our enemy's apology will answer their design, better than ours hath done ours. I shall wave the several complaints, which the English make against our encroachments from the peace of Utrecht to that of Aix-la-Chapelle. This last treaty ought to have effaced the memory of them, or at least, ought to have made us hope for mutual redresses, and necessary explanations. While we waited for the effect of those promises, both sides had agreed to a suspension of all hostilities; so that we must confine ourselves to the steps that have been taken since that period. The following is the account given by the enemy, which we should find extremely difficult to invalidate.

"The court of Versailles has always
"looked upon North America, as an ob-
"ject worthy of her chief attention, and
"without all doubt has formed a plan
"to make herself mistress of it, a plan
"which she has steadily pursued, though
"with

" with all the privacy and art imaginable.
" However, since the treaty of Aix-la-
" Chapelle, the French have disclosed their
" views more openly, because they have
" pursued them with greater warmth, their
" encroachments having been more nume-
" rous, and their hostilities more violent.

" In the province of Nova Scotia, here-
" tofore Acadia, they have erected a fort
" near Bay Verte, from whence they have
" an easy communication by water with
" Louisburg, Canada, and the other French
" settlements. They have likewise erected
" another, mounting upwards of thirty
" guns, which commands the further end
" of the Bay of Fundi. They have made
" themselves masters of the river of St.
" John, and built thereon two forts, from
" which they have had the insolence to fire
" against one of the King's ships. They have
" run away with all the trade, which before
" this last peace belonged intirely to the
" English; so that considering all things
" properly, the French, and the savages
" under their command, are more effec-
" tually

" tually masters of this whole province
" than we. They have assisted, and stirred
" up those people against us, and of
" course are answerable for the barbarities
" committed. This is as easy to prove
" as the endeavours they used to break
" the treaty of peace, which we had con-
" cluded the 22d of November 1752, with
" the Mickmaks and Malechite savages; so
" that not content with employing their
" missionaries to persuade them to violate
" this treaty, even the governor of Louis-
" burg made an harangue to those people
" himself with this sanguinary design.

" Since this same treaty of Aix-la-Cha-
" pelle, they have erected several forts in
" the country of the Iroquois, who are
" under the protection of the English;
" among the rest, one on the north side
" of the lake Ontario, directly opposite to
" the English fort Oswego. They have
" also built a large strong house to trade
" with the savages between the lakes Erie
" and Ontario, westward of the great fall
" of Niagara, with a view to prevent the

“ passage of those savages, who ascend the
“ lake in their way to Oswego.

“ In the year 1753, they marched a con-
“ siderable body of regular troops, militia,
“ and savages, into the country of the
“ Iroquois, though the latter had entreat-
“ ed them, several times, to desist. Nay,
“ they threatened to destroy every body that
“ opposed their design.

“ The same year they built two forts ;
“ one upon the river that falls into the lake
“ Erie ; and the other at the distance of
“ fifteen miles upon the river *aux Boeufs*,
“ which empties itself into that of the Ohio.

“ Early the next year they marched
“ to the little English fort at the pass
“ of Mohagouata, below the river Ohio,
“ which being but weakly guarded by
“ a few troops from Virginia, surren-
“ dered by capitulation at the first sum-
“ mons. Some time after, a body of
“ twelve hundred French attacked Major
“ Washington, who commanded the troops
“ from Virginia, consisting of about three
“ hundred men, and obliged him to sur-
“ render.

" render. This is the very officer that the
" French have so often charged with the
" pretended assassination of the Sieur de Ju-
" monville; a charge they ought to be
" ashamed of, after the murder of Mr.
" How, which was done at their instigation
" by the savages of their party, as he was
" on his return from a conference of their
" own appointing, whither he had went in
" full reliance upon the law of nations.
" The case was otherwise, as every body
" knows, in regard to Major Washington.
" He mistook, which was very natural, the
" Sieur de Jumonville, and the soldiers that
" attended him, for a detachment of the
" enemy that was coming to attack him;
" and there is no doubt but in duty to him-
" self, and to his own preservation, he ought
" not to have waited quietly for the enemy.
" The many hostilities which he had expe-
" rienced on the part of the French, should
" have forewarned him not to presume,
" that they had sent an ambassador to him
" with such a train. But let the French
" make as much noise as they please, about
" an

“ an accident, at which we were more
“ grieved perhaps than they themselves ;
“ for if it were not for this melancholy
“ affair, they would have lost one of their
“ most dismal ditties ; neither let us an-
“ swer them in the same tone, notwith-
“ standing the advantage we have from the
“ date of the murder of Mr. How : let us
“ return to aggressions, no way owing to
“ untoward accidents.

“ Besides several other forts, too tedious
“ to enumerate, which they erected on the
“ territories in dispute, and on those in our
“ possession, in defiance of the treaty of
“ Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-
“ Chapelle ; they have continually disturb-
“ ed the commerce of his Britannic ma-
“ jesty's subjects. They have seized, as well
“ in their own territories, as in those of
“ the savages their allies, and even in those
“ of the Iroquois, who are in alliance with
“ us ; they have seized on all the English
“ goods they met with, and have even de-
“ clared, that they would make every man a
“ prisoner, who passed through the country

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" in their possession ; a declaration made
" after they had been informed, that three
" hundred Englishmen were set out from
" Pennsylvania upon the faith of those trea-
" tries, in order to trade with the savages.
" With regard to the artifices of the
" missionaries to prejudice the savages against
" us, and to inflame even the minds of
" those, whom the most solemn oaths ought
" surely to have restrained, they are too
" notorious to be repeated. But if they are
" so successful in imposing upon simple
" and credulous people, under the cloak of
" religion ; it is to be presumed, that such
" wicked success will prove fatal at length
" to themselves. What can our enemies
" do more ? They can tell us, in plain
" terms, that they do not declare war
" against us ; and do not we know it ? And
" is it not evident, that the reason of their
" deferring this formality, is because they
" do not think themselves as yet a match
" for us ? for notwithstanding the territory,
" which they have gradually usurped from
" us, they are not as yet able to maintain
" a con-

"a considerable number of troops. All
 "we had therefore to do, was to wait for
 "the critical moment, when their scheme
 "was ripe for execution; and surely it
 "was abominable, that we had not pa-
 "tience to wait. But we may well deserve
 "this censure, after the reproach that has
 "been cast upon us even by the savages.
 "An envoy of the six nations addressed
 "himself publicly in these words to the
 "king's commissary, at a conference in
 "Albany: You talk, said he, of your
 "forces; where are they? The French
 "erect forts, and keep them after they are
 "erected; and the English cannot hinder
 "them. The French act like men; the
 "English like women."

How stinging must this speech have been,
 and how mortifying to men of spirit? Is
 it then surprizing, that after the several al-
 legations of the English, of which I have
 given a compendious account, they have
 at length been roused to a necessary degree
 of resentment.

But these accusations being diametrically

oppo-

opposite to those of the French, you would
fain know whether they are well founded,
and which of the two we are to believe? I'll
tell you frankly. In regard to the facts,
you may believe both sides; only you are
not to depend so much on dates and circum-
stances; and in this respect we were charg-
ed here with giving it against ourselves.
For instance, we were convinced of the truth
of every thing the English advanced; we
knew for certain the schemes that were
executed almost under our noses; we were
grieved to see the savages excited to commit
barbarities, which some time or other must
fall upon their own heads; and you have
not forgot what I said to you upon this sub-
ject. When the English turned the tables
upon us, we were not at all surprized. But
it was their forbearance that astonished us.
Not one of us will deny that they at-
tacked us in the neighbourhood of Wekak;
but every honest man will confess, that all
they meant by it was to hinder us from
making any new works, and to destroy
such as had been already erected. In regard
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to the facts which we are blamed for, and for which we blame ourselves, there is not so much as a common peasant in this place but would be able to condemn us, without going to see whether there was a date on the frontispiece. I own, indeed, it is a misfortune for us not to be able to dispute about facts, as you have done in Europe: to make us some amends, we have leisure enough to inquire into the cause of those facts, and we have the satisfaction, which a generous breast always enjoys, of being able to do justice even to an injured enemy.

I foresee very plainly, that this generous disposition will soon be tried: it seems as if the enemy, whom we have lately provoked, were preparing to return the mischief we have done, or evidently intended to do to their nation. I believe they will set about it without any manner of ceremony, and if we come to reflect upon our conduct, we cannot condemn them.

How melancholy our situation! we have involved ourselves in a bloody quarrel before we were prepared for our defence: we have
taken

taken such steps as are equivalent to a declaration of war, without waiting till we had no reason to be afraid of performing this ceremony. How blameable our conduct in every respect! Do you imagine that he who shall accuse the enemy of not having paid a proper respect to the law of nations, by which a custom so worthy of humanity has been established, will gain any great matter by this recrimination: or that he who shall find it so easy to excuse the enemy, will like to do it at the expence of his own party? Yet one of these sides must we embrace, for there is no medium: the thunder rattles and is ready to burst, as you will find by the narrative in my next, which I have received but just this minute. Enough, and too much for the present: the subject is so disagreeable as to oblige me to break off. I am, &c.

L E T-

L E T T E R XX.

The taking of the Alcide and the Lys by the English; the surrender of Fort Beaufejour, and other events preparatory to a declaration of war.

S I R,

IF I have not been able hitherto to send you any papers of consequence in favour of the French, it is not so much my fault as theirs; and you may judge of the satisfaction I should have in doing it, from the following relation, which I send you, according to my promise, without the least abridgment.

Relation of what passed at the taking of the Alcide by the English squadron, consisting of eleven men of war, under the command of Admiral Boscowen.

" The 29th of May the king's squadron,
" commanded by M. du Bois de la Mothe,
" had lain by for some days, on account of
" the fog and want of wind. Towards
" six in the evening, the weather cleared up
" a little, with a small south-east breeze.

" This

" This however did not last long, for no
" sooner were the ships got together again,
" than the fog became as thick as ever.
" At that time the Algonquin, the Espe-
" rance, and the Opiniatre were missing. In
" the night the weather grew excessive bad,
" there being a strong south-west wind, with
" heavy rain, and so thick a fog, that we
" could not see the length of the ship. We
" passed by a huge bank of ice, which we
" discovered only by its whiteness, and by
" a very thick smoke. It was as much as
" we could do to double it. The 30th,
" the south-west wind, and bad weather
" lasted all day. I still continued the same
" course nearly west north-west, keeping
" with the rest of the squadron, and mak-
" ing sometimes more and sometimes less
" sail, in order not to lose company. All
" this while we made signals to one ano-
" ther, with our bells. Towards four in
" the afternoon we heard no more signals,
" whether it was that the ships had chang-
" ed their course; or that the admiral had
" made a signal to tack about, and I had

X

" been

" This

“ been prevented by the badness of the
“ weather from hearing it. I still kept on
“ my course west north-west till seven in
“ the evening, when I obliged my first
“ pilot to make the point, which was but
“ nine or ten leagues east south-east off
“ Cape de Raze. I could steer no other
“ course than west north-west, which
“ brought me just upon it; besides, the bad
“ weather still continued, the wind at
“ south-west, and a thick fog. At half
“ an hour after four we saw no more of
“ the fleet, nor of the admiral; nor had I
“ taken any elevation of the pole since the
“ 20th. I then resolved to lie by, and to
“ wait till it cleared up, for it was not pru-
“ dent to run into imminent danger.

“ The 31st in the morning, I saw the
“ Lys, and in the afternoon the Aquilon,
“ which had parted with the squadron the
“ same day as myself, and nearly for the
“ same reasons.

“ The 4th or 5th of June, the Aquil-
“ on parted with me in a fog. The 7th
“ the Dauphin Royal, which had likewise
“ parted

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" parted company the same day, came up
" to me after we had made signals to each
" other. Towards six in the evening, the
" wind being very slack, and west north-
" west, we espied from our main top-mast
" eleven ships to the east north-east, at the
" distance of five or six leagues. Judging
" this might be our squadron, I made to-
" wards them. But still having some
" mistrust, I was resolved to be thoroughly
" satisfied about the matter before night.
" I therefore drew only within such a di-
" stance, as to find out the signals. The
" wind still abating and the sea being per-
" fectly calm, our three vessels lay by.
" The 8th, by break of day, a fresh
" gale springing up in the south, I found
" myself advanced within three leagues of
" the squadron, which I had taken for
" ours. I made the proper signals, to
" which the enemy gave no answer, but
" crowded all the sail they could to come
" up with me. For my part, I bore away
" to the north-west, which seemed to me
" the best course I could take in my pre-

" sent situation, making the rear with the
" Lys, and the Dauphin Royal the van.
" In this order we continued our course,
" with a very slack south-west wind, which
" is a considerable advantage to the Eng-
" lish, because their main sails are much
" lighter, and their other sails much larger
" than ours. As they sensibly advanced upon
" us, I hoisted my colours, and fired a gun
" with powder only ; they likewise hoist-
" ed theirs, but without firing. I reckon-
" ed, by the course I was steering, and by
" hoisting French colours, I should draw
" the best sailing ships of the enemy upon
" me, and give time to the two transports
" to make their escape. Between ten and
" eleven in the forenoon, the Dunkirk
" of sixty guns, in company with two
" other ships of the same force, the ad-
" miral of seventy-four guns, and the
" rest of the Squadron, bore down upon
" me, within such a distance, that I
" might have raked them most terribly, if
" I had dared to begin the attack. The
" sea was as smooth as glass, with very
" little

“ little wind ; and though I made no doubt,
“ from the enemy's motions, but they in-
“ tended to fight me, still I was resolved to
“ wait till they commenced hostilities. For
“ when I left Europe, there had been no
“ war declared ; and I was thoroughly sen-
“ sible of the consequence of being the
“ aggressor. I was very sure the enemy
“ would make a handle of it to charge me
“ with having begun the war, for which I
“ should be blamed over all Europe. These
“ reflexions however hurt me greatly.

“ As soon as the Dunkirk, Captain
“ Howe, came near enough to be spoke
“ to, he worked his ship in such a manner,
“ as if he intended to board me : and I
“ thought so myself for some time. Yet as
“ I wanted to know what he would be at,
“ I begged of Messieurs de Rostaing, de
“ Vaudreuil, Somerville, and Drelincourt,
“ to mind what I was going to say to the
“ captain of the Dunkirk. Messieurs du
“ Moulin and Geoffroy, and the Chevalier
“ de Percevaux, who were upon the stern,
“ did not lose a single word ; and the

" whole ship's crew were very attentive.

" I therefore made our people call out
 " aloud three times in English, *are we at*
 " *peace or war?* They made answer, *we do*
 " *not understand you.* The same question
 " was then asked in French, and we had
 " the same answer. I then took the speak-
 " ing trumpet, and asked twice again;
 " *are we at peace or war?* The captain an-
 " swered me twice himself, very distinctly,
 " and in good French; *la paix, la paix;*
 " *peace, peace.* Yet the signal to engage
 " had been made some time before on board
 " the admiral by a red flag. I asked again,
 " what was the admiral's name? they an-
 " swered me, Admiral Boscawen. I know
 " him, said I; he is a friend of mine: and
 " you, Sir, replied they, may we know your
 " name? I made answer, Hocquart. The
 " conversation was not long. No sooner
 " had I pronounced my name, and the
 " enemy the word *paix*, but they imme-
 " diately poured a broad-side into us from
 " their upper and lower tiers, with a dis-
 " charge of their small arms, which was
 " declaring

“ declaring war. Their guns were charg-
 “ ed with cross-bar shot and pieces of brass
 “ and old iron. The sea was too calm to
 “ lose a single shot, and we were so near
 “ to the enemy, that the mouths of their
 “ guns touched our ships. This, together
 “ with the confidence inspired by the word
 “ *peace*, from the mouth of a captain, made
 “ us lose a great many men; yet our fire
 “ was neither retarded nor slackened, but
 “ part of the helm being carried away by an
 “ unlucky shot, the pilot was forced to aban-
 “ don it. My rigging was all cut in pieces,
 “ or become useless. In this situation I
 “ found myself exposed to five or six of the
 “ enemy’s ships, which surrounded me on
 “ every side, and among the rest, the vice
 “ admiral’s. Still I continued firing for
 “ some time with the utmost vivacity, and
 “ facing the enemy on every side, as well
 “ as the weak condition of the men under
 “ my command would permit. Some of
 “ them had already begun to fly from their
 “ guns. By this time I had lost a hun-
 “ dred, killed and wounded, four officers
 “ slain,

“ slain, and several disabled by their wounds,
“ The rigging was damaged, the sails were
“ tore away, the main-mast was pierced
“ through the middle with two cannon
“ shot; the fore top-mast was shattered
“ and ready to come by the board; the
“ yards were cut; all the masts were da-
“ maged, and several of our cannon dis-
“ mounted. Finding myself in this de-
“ plorable situation, without any hopes of
“ escaping, and being desirous to preserve
“ the lives of a number of brave fellows, who
“ had so valorously sustained a most un-
“ equal combat, I thought proper to submit.
“ Still I would not strike to any but to the
“ admiral; and having attacked him at
“ length within musket shot, and killed,
“ as he told me himself, two of his men,
“ and wounded several, I received two
“ broad-sides from him, with both his
“ upper and lower guns. Then I struck,
“ and was immediately surrounded by al-
“ most the whole English Squadron, having
“ fought with every one of them in their
“ turn.

“ Whilst

" Whilst I was thus engaged, the enemy
" had dispatched two ships after the Dau-
" phin Royal, which could not come up
" with her; and three more after the Lys,
" which they took. I saw this ship make
" a gallant defence, so long as she was
" able to make use of her guns; but
" being put betwixt two fires, and out
" of reach of musquet-shot, she received
" several broad-sides, to which she could
" make but a very feeble return, so that
" at length she was obliged to submit."

Now what is your opinion, Sir, in re-
gard to this narrative? Do not you think it
would decide the matter in our favour, if
we had always acted with the same candour
and sincerity as M. Hocquart. Indeed
this worthy captain carried his delicacy as
far at least as his bravery. To see himself
chased by a squadron, which he immediate-
ly pronounced to be the enemy's; to be-
hold the signal for an engagement, and yet
to be so obstinate as to enter into a friendly
conversation; to give more credit to a few
words from a private captain, than to the
decla-

" Whilst

declaration signified by the admiral; and after all, not to be convinced till the small arms had made a declaration of war, is very extraordinary. In order to heighten the glory of this proceeding, I should have been pleased, if M. Hocquart had behaved thus at the head of a squadron of eleven ships to three. But what excuse do you think the English pretend to make for this behaviour? In truth, they do not trouble their heads about any, but laugh at us. They pretend that their Captain Howe had better instructions than M. Hocquart, though the latter was just come from Europe; that he gave the same signification to the word *peute*, as the French had done in America; that a lye which cannot cause a deception, is no lye, according to several of our casuists; that M. Hocquart ought not to have believed a jest which was said by way of reprisals, preferably to the admiral's red flag; in a word, that he ought not to have asked any questions that had been answered before, supposing even that he was ignorant of the hostilities on both sides.

But

But is this a time for jesting, and will the subject bear it? No surely; and there is no manner of doubt but those who made the joke, were in the wrong, both in the example, and in the imitation. It is so precarious a thing to judge of the whole from a part, that the English ought not to have believed, that because a few turbulent men had persuaded some people to adopt a system not at all suitable to their interest, therefore the whole French nation was in the same way of thinking. It is very certain, that although M. Bloquart behaved with some sort of imprudence in regard to his own safety, yet he gave marks of sincerity and valour, worthy of admiration.

The English also demonstrated the opinion they entertained of our designs, by the rigorous treatment, which they are pretended to have shewn to M. Rigault, governor of the three rivers, who was taken on board the Alcide. M. Rigault complained of this behaviour to the French ministers and to the court of admiralty: he attributes

But

§16 *The Alcide and Lys taken.*

attributes it to the notion the English entertained, that his family had used their credit to inflame the savages, and to promote the ambitious enterprizes of France. He adds, that they charged him with all this in express terms ; which, I must own, seems to make greatly against us. How inclinable soever one nation may be to throw the blame upon another with whom they are at war, the leading men, and especially those in the military service, are not so mean as to sacrifice one of their equals, and particularly a person of high rank and birth, to a design of this nature. Therefore the more odious and unreasonable this behaviour has appeared, the more it proves how firmly the enemy were convinced of our designs ; and I wish, with all my heart, as I said before, that we were guilty only in their eye. But while you amuse yourselves with examining who has been the aggressor, and while those who are in the wrong, make a far louder outcry than the party injured, unfortunately we go on furnishing you with matter of debate. I hear that

Beaufe-

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Surrender of Fort Beaufejour. 317

Beaufejour is taken, and the following is a short account I received of this matter from an officer belonging to that fort.

" The 15th of May 1755 arrived at
" *Bay Verte*, a small vessel from *Louisburg*
" with dispatches from *Messieurs de Dru-*
" court and *Prevost* to *M. de Vergor*, com-
" mander of that fort. They sent him
" word, that the *Diana*, one of the king's
" frigates, was arrived fifteen days before,
" having sailed privately from *Rochfort*,
" with strict orders not to open her letters
" till she got two hundred leagues out to
" sea. To which they further added, that
" there had been a fleet of thirty ships of the
" line in *Brest* harbour, and in a very few
" days they should hear of its destination ;
" however, that France was just upon the
" point of executing the scheme which she
" ought to have done long ago (this ap-
" pears to me to be the invasion of *Acadia*)
" that no more than two or three small
" vessels from *New England* have appeared
" at *Louisburg*, where they made only a
" stay of a few days. The 25th there came
" an

318 *Surrender of Fort Beaufejour.*

“ an express from Louisburg with letters to

“ *De Vergor*, but nothing has transpired.

“ They demand pickets and palisades for

“ Louisburg, and orders are given to cut

“ wood for that purpose at Gasparaux.

“ Monday the 2d of June I was inform-

“ ed, that the commandant had told every

“ body of the English fleet's being under

“ sail; that it consisted of thirty six vessels

“ of different sizes; that one of the inha-

“ bitants, who had seen it, said it might

“ enter as to day into the river of Mesa-

“ goueche; and accordingly it arrived there

“ at two in the afternoon. On Wednes-

“ day they made themselves masters of the

“ bridge of *Buot*, killed some of our men,

“ and drove the rest up to the bank of Mi-

“ rande; which determined us to set fire to

“ the habitations, farms, wood-houses, and

“ even to the church itself. In the mean

“ time the outworks of the fort were finish-

“ ed, and some new ones, bomb-proof,

“ were erected on the bastions. From

“ time to time we sent out detachments, that

“ skirmished with the enemy.

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Surrender of Fort Beaujour. 319

"The 8th and English officer was taken
by the savages, and rescued out of their
hands. Vergon used him extremely well.
He asked leave to write to his general, and
to his wife, which was granted. His
letters were sent away, and the persons
that carried them told us, at their return,
that they had seen only six ten-pounders,
and eight mortars; to which the officer
replied, that they had not seen all.

"Tuesday the 9th some savages from Ha-
lifax informed us, that the English were
afraid the French fleet would be before
hand with theirs.

"Tuesday the twelfth of June we receiv-
ed intelligence, that there were three of
the king's frigates at Louisbourg, with
troops on board, and destined for Bay
Verte. Friday the 13th we were apprized,
that the English were entrenching them-
selves backwards, and upon the rock br-
dering on St. Omer's. The works are
carried on with vigour. We are about
six hundred men, reckoning the inhabi-
tants. Some cannon have been fired,

" and

320 *Surrender of Fort Beauséjour.*

“ and the English have begun to throw
“ shells. The 16th one of two hundred
“ weight fell upon the jail, where it kill-
“ ed an English officer who was a prisoner,
“ and several others. The ravage it has
“ made, together with the bad condition of
“ almost every part of the fort, and our
“ being disappointed in the succours we ex-
“ pected, have determined Vergor to capi-
“ tulate. The confusion was so much the
“ greater, as, contrary to the opinion of every
“ man of sense, five hundred Acadians had
“ been forced as it were to shut themselves
“ up in the fort, which was only a burden
“ to us, and great prejudice to them. These
“ were some of the Acadians, who had
“ taken the oath of allegiance to the king
“ of Great-Britain; therefore it was ex-
“ posing them, without any good reason, to
“ be butchered; since they must have ex-
“ pected either to be crushed to death under
“ the ruins of the fort, where it was im-
“ possible for them to subsist; or to be
“ hanged like dogs, if they fell into the
“ hands of the English. For my part, I

“ was

Beaufejour.

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Surrender of Fort Beaufejour. 321

" was of opinion, that humanity obliged
" me to dissuade them from a design, so
" greatly to their prejudice. Accordingly
" I prevailed with several; and after the
" reduction of the fort, I made an apolo-
" gy for the rest, imputing it to the im-
" plicit submission which those poor people
" paid to their missionaries. And in some
" measure I have succeeded, since the Eng-
" lish did not treat them with the utmost
" severity, as undoubtedly they had a right
" to do.

" The 16th of June, in the morning,
" the Sieur de Vannes, who is a relation
" of Vergor, and one of the oldest lieu-
" tenants, set out with proposals for the
" English camp. M. Scherif returned with
" an answer: we deputed him once more to
" the enemy's camp, and the capitulation
" was concluded. Before the English entered
" the fort, we sent away as many of the inha-
" bitants as we possibly could, and all heavy
" loaded, together with Vergor's domestics,
" who had seized upon the most valuable
" effects. The enemy took possession of
Y " the

322 *Surrender of Fort Beaufejour.*

“ the fort in the evening, and though
“ every thing was conducted with tolerable
“ good order in the night-time, the bales
“ of goods belonging to merchants were
“ opened and plundered by both parties;
“ but a greater number by us than by the
“ enemy. The English transported the
“ French troops, and took care of the
“ wounded.

“ The 18th the enemy sent five hundred
“ men to take possession of Fort Gasperau,
“ which had been surrendered by M. de Vil-
“ leray, the commanding officer, upon the
“ receipt of a letter, acquainting him with
“ the capitulation, and at the same time,
“ with the impossibility of resisting the
“ enemy. Joseph Broffard, known by the
“ name of *Beaufoleil*, and by the mischief
“ he has done to the English, is come with
“ a passport to propose a peace with the sa-
“ vages. He has only demanded a general
“ amnesty, and his own pardon in parti-
“ cular, which Mr. Monckton has granted.
“ The inhabitants all around have been
“ persuaded to bring in their arms to the
“ English.

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Surrender of Fort Beauséjour. 323

" English. One of them says he came
" from Louisbourg, where he left five ships
" of the line and five thousand men; and
" further adds, that they were preparing
" to succour *Beauséjour*.

You may very well judge that I have
abridged this journal, for upon these occa-
sions the details are generally the same. Be-
sides, I think it sufficient to acquaint you
with the principal facts, which if you had
even been informed of already, I should
nevertheless have laid before you again; be-
cause they furnish me with reflexions, suita-
ble to the view I proposed to myself in
these letters; which was to make you sen-
sible of the truth by arguments derived from
those very facts, and not to impose upon
your understanding by vague and indecent
clamours. Be so good therefore as to take
notice of the date of the information given
to Vergor, concerning the thirty ships of the
line, which were ready to put to sea from
Brest, in order, as they said, to invade
Acadia. This was the 27th of May 1755.
The Alcide and the Lys were taken the 8th

of June the same year. Observe also, that the Alcide and the Lys, which belonged to the squadron of eleven ships of war under the command of M. du Bois de la Mothe, made part of those thirty two ships of the line that were destined against Acadia. From thence please to draw a very natural conclusion : since we have had a public account here the 27th of May, that the French fleet was sent to invade Acadia, M. Hocquart, who was come directly from France, and belonged to that fleet, must undoubtedly have known it the 8th of June ; therefore since he saw that notwithstanding the pretensions of the French to peace, they were going to wrest a province from the English, might not he well foresee, that the English would hold the same language, and yet commit hostilities against his ship ? Will you say, that he remembered nothing about it ; nor the number of ships which composed the French squadron ? And indeed it is very extraordinary, that upon seeing and reckoning eleven English men of war, he should have taken them

them for the eleven belonging to the French, when three were missing. Such absurdities make our enemy believe we were playing tricks with them; and they have paid us in our own coin. Yet it would be an easy matter to finish this game, for the chance begins to go against us. Of what use is it to dispute, whether we ought or ought not to be at war, if the sword is actually drawn? When it is become necessary to fight, it is idle then to inquire who was originally in the wrong: according to the ancient use of combat, it must be decided by the success; and the care of examining into the foundation of the quarrel, and of stating the proceedings, must be left to such idle people as us. I therefore expect they will adopt this measure in France, the only one remaining. In short, whether we come to a formal declaration of war, or confine ourselves to that which, in M. Hocquart's phrase, was made by the English small arms; or as the English pretend, by our unjust encroachments; I am in hopes we shall strike a terror into the enemy, by sending a fleet

326 *Events preparatory &c.*

to America before theirs; by putting Louis-
burg into a state of security and defence;
and above all, by cutting out work for the
English at home; or at least by making a
vigorous stand against the numerous forces,
with which they intend to crush us to pieces.
It is no longer time to observe, or pretend
to observe the laws of peace in Europe,
when France is upon the point of being
stripped of all her possessions in America.
We have roused the enemy, and are asleep
ourselves. I wait impatiently for a letter
from you, and hope it will bring me an
account, that our court has changed both
their tone and their conduct. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXI.

Answer to a letter from Europe, wherein the author is apprized of the declaration of war between the two crowns; clamour of the French against the English; the taking of Minorca, and the treaty betwixt France, and the queen of Hungary.

S I R,

I HAVE received the favour of yours, after waiting for it almost a whole year. We had already been informed of part of the contents, and I own it was such news as gave me alternately pleasure and pain. The taking of Minorca, as you may very well imagine, affords me great satisfaction, as well as the declaration of war, which sets all things to right. In regard to the alliance which France has concluded with the queen of Hungary, I am affected in another manner. Neither do you seem altogether to approve of it. What! did we imagine we had to deal with too weak a foe, and therefore resolved to bring more powers

upon our backs? Instead of turning our whole force against an enraged enemy, who accuses us of treachery and breach of treaties, how could we engage in a measure so prejudicial to our real interests? The taking of Minorca had almost intirely justified us, even in the opinion of the English. They were angry with themselves for having been too much alarmed at our projects. But weakening ourselves, as we are likely to do, by this fatal diversion, we shall encourage our enemy to revive their accusations against us; for the vanquished is always in the wrong. Perhaps you will say, the enemy are still very far from victory. We are going to march fourscore thousand men into Germany; and the king of Prussia will soon be demolished. In the first place, I do not grant this point; the king of Prussia is able to withstand much superior forces. On the other hand you must allow, that the land armies which the queen of Hungary, the Russians, and we are to send into the field, will of course diminish our fleet, by which alone we can hold the balance.

Our

between France and England. 329

Our victory over General Braddock, which has been sounded so high in Europe, is far from determining our fate. The maritime power of the English is a hydra, in opposition to which we ought to set up another of the same nature. France should have employed her people and her treasure in building and fitting out a considerable fleet, equal to cope with the enemy, and not in sending her men to be knocked on the head in Germany. But since the English entered into a continental alliance, what ought we to have done? We should not have followed their example, if we had a mind to be revenged for their treaty with the king of Prussia; which in the main, if we pursued our real interest, was of very little signification to us: at least we ought to have confined ourselves to the articles of the treaty of Versailles. Fourscore thousand men would not have exhausted our strength; we might still have maintained the war in America, where every success we met with, would be a step the nearer towards enabling us to prescribe the law in Europe. Then

we

Our

we might with a good grace have determined not only our own right and pretensions, but those of other nations; whereas this diversion will perhaps subject us to the disagreeable situation of receiving the law from our enemy. And indeed if the English had not appeared to be thunderstruck by this alliance, which ought rather to have given them joy, I should imagine that their treaty with the king of Prussia had been only a snare to entrap us. Those who have declaimed most loudly against the British ministry on the account of this alliance; and who have looked upon it as onerous to the nation, must change their opinion, now that we have proved the advantage of it. But why should I trouble you with my thoughts upon this subject, since they can afford nothing new to a person of your judgment and reflexion? Would it not be far preferable to furnish you with fresh matter? I thank heaven, it is now in my power to transmit some accounts to you, which may be said to be rather agreeable than otherwise; if we confine

our

our reflexion to the present time. We have had sufficient success on the lake of the Holy Sacrament. The reduction of fort St. George, and some other advantages, have turned several of our heads. The visit paid us by Admiral Holburne has finished the business, at least in the eye of those who judge only from the present minute. In order to make you sensible of the disposition of this sort of people, I shall subjoin the copy of a letter written by one of our officers. You will find it of a consolatory nature, and altogether different from my usual strain of lamentations. But I will not keep you any longer in suspense.

“ Our squadron consisting of nineteen
“ ships of the line and five frigates, under
“ the command of M. du Bois de la
“ Mothe, has been these four months be-
“ fore Louisburg. The eye of all Europe
“ is fixed upon us. The formidable ar-
“ mament, which the English had fitted
“ out at an immense expence, and with
“ which they were to strike such a ter-
“ rible blow, has proved the mountain in
“ labour. They had assembled an army
“ of

“ of two and twenty thousand men at Ha-
“ lifax, sixteen of whom were transported
“ from Europe. They had likewise a nume-
“ rous train of artillery and implements of
“ war, two and twenty ships of the line, and
“ upwards of two hundred transports. So
“ formidable were their preparations ! Their
“ view was first of all to dispossess us of Cape
“ Breton and Canada, and then to drive us
“ out of America. But we have defeated all
“ those magnificent projects, only with six-
“ teen ships of war, stationed in Louisburg
“ road. Our success in Canada has been
“ equally rapid. The fort of St. George is
“ taken ; and our Canadians are now upon
“ the frontiers of the best provinces of the
“ enemy. Yet Admiral Holburne, who had
“ the command of that terrible English
“ squadron, appeared off Louisburg with
“ his two and twenty sail of men of war,
“ while our fleet was detained in the
“ harbour by a very thick fog. M. du
“ Bois had made ready to put to sea,
“ as soon as the enemy appeared. Our
“ people had all but one heart and one voice

“ to

“ to engage the enemy ; but this famous
“ and long expected Mr. Holburne, took it
“ into his head that our number was nearly
“ equal to his ; and therefore he made the
“ best of his way back to Halifax. But his
“ countrymen will ask him, how came you
“ to run away ? I had not, he will answer,
“ a superior force to that of the enemy
“ (*venit, vidit, fugit*). The example of the
“ unfortunate Admiral Bing has not yet
“ worked miracles in point of bravery.

“ Ever since our arrival we have lain
“ stock still, in pursuance of express orders
“ from court. Our master will run no
“ risk this year ; perhaps he intends to do
“ something brilliant the next campaign. It
“ is vexatious, that the finest squadron
“ which France has equipped since the year
“ 1703, should be shackled with orders only
“ to keep a look out. If ever there was a
“ certainty of firing gun-powder to the ho-
“ nour of the French flag, it was the 19th
“ of August, the day on which Admiral
“ Holburne appeared before our harbour.
“ He returned afterwards with two and
“ twenty

“ to

“ twenty ships and seven frigates, and be-
“ gan to bluster greatly ; but a terrible
“ storm pulled down his courage. On the
“ 25th of September it blew a most furious
“ south-east wind upon the coast, which,
“ if it had lasted but two hours longer,
“ would have destroyed his whole squadron.
“ The Devonshire of seventy guns, and the
“ Salisbury of sixty, were cast away ; and
“ we saved two hundred men out of the
“ latter. There is reason to believe, that
“ five or six more of their squadron have
“ met with the same fate as the Devonshire,
“ out of which we have not been able to
“ save a single soul. This however is cer-
“ tain, that the coast was strewed with
“ wrecks and dead bodies. The rest of
“ their ships that escaped the danger, have
“ lost most of their masts and rigging.
“ Here then did the hand of God display
“ itself most visibly in our favour. The
“ prisoners, whom our savages took at the
“ gates of Halifax, inform us, that out of
“ eight or nine and twenty ships or frigates,
“ of which the English fleet consisted, no

“ more

" more than fourteen got safe back; but
" the admiral gave out, that the rest had
" sailed to Europe. It is to be presumed,
" that he has made use of this language,
" to prevent the common people from being
" discouraged under the present critical
" circumstances. The savages alone are
" able to frighten them. And indeed it
" is incredible, with what fury and bar-
" barity, these people behave towards the
" enemy. We see them every day return-
" ing with the miserable remains of fami-
" lies, the greatest part of whom they
" have massacred and frequently devoured.
" I must confess that such sights are shock-
" ing to humanity. I shudder to this very
" moment, when I think of the speech,
" which one of their chiefs made one day
" that I was present, when he laid a heap
" of English hair at the feet of M. du
" Bois de la Mothe: and so, said he, that
" my brethren may be able quickly to have
" a flourishing trade in this kind of furs.
" A very savage request, answered M. de la
" Mothe. However, the hand of the Al-
" mighty

" mighty has visibly protected us in the
" storm of the 25th of September. The
" best part of our Squadron was in the
" greatest danger. The Tonnant, the
" Formidable, the Duke of Burgundy,
" and almost all the rest of our ships, were
" driven from their anchors, and very
" near being dashed against the rocks,
" when the wind suddenly chopped about,
" and preserved us from destruction. The
" Tonnant had already lost part of her
" keel by running ashore ; and we were
" just going to cut away her masts, when
" the wind veered about and set her afloat.
" This accident has detained us in this
" place, where our operations have been
" confined to the taking of a frigate of
" sixteen guns. We shall set sail from
" hence to-morrow, All Saints day ; God
" grant us better luck, and enable us to
" bring some of the enemy's ships into our
" harbours."

I am much mistaken, if you do not
tell me that I must be stark mad to send
you such a letter ; but very likely you will

say

say something more severe, when you see me make a serious comment upon it. Yet I must do it; for this presumptuous, foolish talk, which I know is apt to give you great offence, is the language of the multitude, whom you are very sensible we are sometimes obliged to answer. First of all, that bravado in regard to the designs of the English, and the conduct of admiral Holburne, is exactly a copy of the behaviour which the writer of the letter intends to expose. I know that the French desired nothing better than to fight, and that they longed to see admiral Holburne, but does it follow from thence, that they have a right to reproach the enemy with want of courage. If upon a single occasion we might imagine they deserved this censure, sure I am, that there have been more than a thousand instances, in which there was not the least foundation for this charge. And as for the projects of the English, what is there in them so ridiculous? Did we ever fancy ourselves able to make an attempt upon one of their ports, but immediately we concluded we should become masters of

the whole kingdom of Great-Britain? Besides, every body knows that those castles in the air are built for the populace, and not for men of sense. Must not we tell this giddy multitude (unless we chuse to dishearten them) that we are going to seize on the enemy's country, and to spread terror and desolation around us? They who talk in this strain, are capable nevertheless of judging between possibilities and impossibilities. Admiral Holburne has retired, because he saw we had an equality. What equality could there be between a squadron sheltered under the cannon of a fortified town, and a fleet, against which that very same cannon was pointed? Was the admiral so much to blame, for endeavouring to get a reinforcement in order to balance this superiority? But even if he was really in fault, how can we tell but the chance might have been against us? So that perhaps we have more reason to thank Providence, than to crack our illiberal jokes upon this commander.

I have nothing to say to the hurricane,
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and the hand of God visibly exerted in our favour. I accept the omen, and wish that he may always protect us in so distinguishing a manner. I am only surprized that those who complain so severely of the inaction, can be overjoyed at an event, which deprived them of the opportunity of signalizing their valour. This I mention, to shew the absurdity of the letter I have been criticizing; for I am very sure, that the French are endued with too much valour and humanity, to desire the assistance of so terrible a tempest. This is manifest from the aversion we have to the barbarities of the savages. Nay it is certain, that we should not be content with reproving them for this practice, could we do without them, or were they intirely subject to our command.

I shall confine myself therefore to the resolution, which the ministry is said to have taken, not to hazard any thing this year. I wish they may not change their minds the next, and run the risk of losing Louisbourg; and that the first Squadron which

340 *Declaration of War &c.*

appears off our coast, may not be those very English ships (reinforced by double the number), which we pretend to have been destroyed. You will tell me that I am a second Cassandra: I perceive it too well, and am afraid that my predictions will be fulfilled, because our danger is pressing, and the necessary succours are at a greater distance than ever. Besides, I am very much mistaken, if while your attention in France is taken up with the extraordinary successes of the king of Prussia, you will trouble your heads about us; and then will my alarms and apprehensions be ill-grounded? Again, if our fortifications were finished, we might make a stand. I could add, if we had the able officer who commanded here not long ago: but as he has suffered Cherburg to be taken, according to the present reports; you might look upon this wish as a jest; and I assure you I am far from being in a jesting humour.

I am, &c.

L E T.

LETTER XXII.

Landing of the English at Louisburg, their forces, and opening of the siege. Situation and disposition of the English; attack and defence; particulars from admiral Boscawen's journals, and other writings equally authentic.

SIR,

I OWN myself not much affected with the loss of the battle of Rosbach, and the violation of the convention of Closter Seven. These two unhappy events would have fixed my attention at any other time; but it is natural to be more sensible of what immediately strikes us; for a misfortune of this kind absorbs every other consideration. From such a preamble you may judge, that we are actually besieged. Yes, Sir, nothing could be more unfortunate; and yet so it is: instead of that powerful squadron which puffed us up with pride last year, our whole defence against the enemy consists of five ships of war, a garrison of two thou-

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sand five hundred men, three hundred militia, and a fortification almost ruinous. Such was the situation in which the English found us. You will say, perhaps, that there could not be much glory, where there was so weak a defence. You are mistaken, for to our misfortune, though our weakness exposed us to the mercy of the enemy, it no ways diminished the lustre of their conquest. And, indeed, from the following exact and impartial narrative of the whole affair, you will easily see, that they have been possessed of uncommon bravery to surmount the first obstacles, for which we were indebted to nature; and which less impatience on our side might have rendered insuperable. And to our cost, we have experienced the truth of this maxim; that it is impossible to be too vigorous upon an attack, or too cautious upon a defence. But to the point.

" The 28th of May 1728, a fleet of twenty three ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, with sixteen thousand land forces on board, set out from Halifax under the

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command of admiral Boscawen, and came to an anchor the 2d of June in Gabarus Bay. This armament concluded with a proportionable train of artillery, and a vast number of transports; and what rendered it more formidable, was the ardour with which the breasts of the English glowed, to wipe off the disgrace of the taking of Minorca."

"As soon as the fleet came to an anchor, general Amherst, and the brigadier generals Lawrence and Wolfe, went to reconnoitre the several parts of the north side of the bay proper for landing, and pointed out three. Yet admiral Boscawen had two days before made an experiment, to see what number of men could be landed at the same time, and what conveniency there was for forming the troops as soon as they got ashore. He had likewise ordered the Royal William to cruise before Louisburg. These generals perceived that we had a chain of boats along the shore from Cape Noire to Cape Blanc, protected by irregulars, and by batteries wherever a descent

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was practicable. As it was very difficult for us, with so inconsiderable a force, to guard so extensive a coast, we posted a greater number of men in such places as were of easier access. The creek of Cormoran was judged to be of that nature, and therefore we made several encampments along the shore. The first frigate that advanced and fired upon us, was the Kingston: we returned the compliment from a battery of two pieces of cannon, and from our small arms. The surf having prevented the enemy three days from landing, it was at length resolved the 8th of June, when the sea was not so rough, to attempt a descent upon that very spot, after making a feint to land at Laurenbec. At midnight admiral Boscawen sent all the boats with the necessary complement of officers to land the troops. The order of landing was in three divisions; and at the same time, the Sutherland, Kingston, and Halifax, &c. were directed to support the disembarking with a brisk fire. The Sutherland and Squirrel were to the right, just by Cape

Blanc ;

Blanc; the Kingston and Halifax to the left, near Creek Cormoran; the Grammont, with the frigates Diana and Shannon, was in the center. In the mean time, general Wolfe had received orders to send the light troops, and try whether they could not land upon some rocky parts that had always been judged inaccessible, and of course had been left unguarded. Accordingly he sent a hundred men, who were immediately killed or dispersed by the savages, and by some of our people, who flew to that part upon hearing the report of fire arms. About four o'clock in the morning, the enemy tried to land to the left of the creek of Cormoran, with six hundred light troops, a whole battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of grenadiers, under the command of general Wolfe. In the mean while, general Whitmore pretended to land to the right of Cape Blanc; and general Lawrence, who commanded the center, made a like feint at the soft water creek. Their intent was to divide our attention; and this was a very proper step for that purpose,

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purpose, considering the smallness of our numbers : but we soon found out the main design of the enemy, when we saw that general Wolfe began to land his men at the creek of Cormoran. Yet nothing ought to have inspired us with a greater confidence than such an attempt : for this being, as I before observed, the weakest part, we had thrown up such entrenchments, that it was impossible for an enemy to land there with any success. We had two thousand regular troops drawn on the shore, and several savages posted in different parts. We were behind a good parapet, defended by several pieces of cannon within proper distances, and by stone mortars of a considerable bore ; the whole covered by felled trees, which were laid so close, that it would have been very difficult to pierce through them, even if they had not been defended by our troops under shelter. And as our batteries were masked by this palisade, so that at a distance the whole must have appeared to the enemy like a smooth field ; we might have rendered this circumstance of the greatest service

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service to us. We had even absolutely de-
pended upon it, which was the reason of
our not being so much alarmed at the weak
condition of the town. For what did it
signify to us, whether it was fortified or
not, if we could hinder the enemy from
landing? In so advantageous a position, on
which our whole safety depended, we might
have acted a much better part than that of
keeping merely upon the defensive; and this
would have been the case were it not for
an imprudent step, for which we cannot
condemn ourselves too much. As the ene-
my would naturally march up to us, in ex-
pectation of finding only a few paltry en-
trenchments, which they could easily force,
it was our business to let them continue in
this error, till they had all landed. Then
we should have saluted them with our
batteries and small arms; and in all pro-
bability, every man of them would have
been either killed, or drowned in reim-
barking in a hurry: and so great a loss
would perhaps have disheartened the enemy
to such a degree, that they would never
make

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make another attempt. But wherever success depends on command of temper, the French stand but an indifferent chance; as it appeared unfortunately on this occasion. Scarce had the enemy made a movement to draw near the shore, when we shewed ourselves in a hurry to discover the snare, into which they must have inevitably fallen. By our firing upon their boats, they perceived our disposition; nay, we were so precipitate as to unmask it ourselves, by removing the boughs out of their places, whereby we unluckily convinced them of their great danger. Immediately they put back, and the loss they sustained on this occasion, instead of disheartening them, only served to redouble their ardour. They now thought no place so proper for landing as that which we judged inaccessible. Major Scot, upon this occasion, performed a most gallant action. General Wolfe, who at that time was busy in reembarking the troops, and putting off the boats, ordered him to climb up the rocks, where they had already sent a hundred men. The major went thither with

with the troops under his command; but his own boat arriving before the rest, and being staved to pieces the instant he landed, he climbed up the rock by himself. He was in hopes that the hundred men who had been sent before him, were engaged by this time with our people; but seeing no more than ten, he resolved with this small number to get a-top of the rocks. There he found ten savages, and threescore French, who killed two of his men, and wounded three. Still this brave Englishman would not, even in this extremity, abandon a post, on which the success of the whole enterprize depended. He desired the five soldiers remaining not to be dismayed; and even went so far, as to threaten he would fire upon the first man that would flinch. In the mean time, he had three balls lodged in his clothes, and would have had all the seventy Frenchmen upon him at once, were it not for a copse that was between them, and through which he fired a few shot. At length this hero (for I cannot help doing justice to his valour) was seconded by the rest of the English

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lish troops, who perceiving there was no other way to succeed, determined to run all risks in order to carry this point."

"It is the interest of the conquered not to diminish the glory of the victor; and besides, it is our duty to do justice, even to our mortal enemy: for which reason I confess, that the English on this occasion behaved with such valour, as before the event must have appeared temerity. Yet it must be allowed, that at the same time the difficulty of the enterprize does them infinite honour, it saves ours. Who could have foreseen that they would venture to climb up rocks, till then reckoned inaccessible; that notwithstanding their boats were every instant dashed in pieces, and notwithstanding the surf which drove them back, and drowned great numbers, still they persisted, with their clothes all wet, and their spirits almost exhausted, to mount the rock, in defiance of our batteries, from whence we plyed them most vigorously, as soon as we perceived their design?"

"The surprize we were thrown into by
the

the boldness of this attempt, contributed greatly to its success; so that when the enemy attacked the battery which took them in flank, they carried it with ease. Besides, it is very certain that notwithstanding we might have hindered their descent with a little more prudence and circumspection; yet neither one nor the other, nor even the most heroic bravery would have availed us, when once they had effected their descent. The best thing therefore we could do, was to retire, which we did the more precipitately, as we were informed that general Whitmore, in the confusion we were under, had landed to the right of Cape Blanc. We had great reason to be afraid that he would cut us off from Louisburg, where we had left only three hundred men; for in that case all would have been over with us. Though our loss, on that fatal day, amounted to about two hundred men killed and taken prisoners; and though our town was in so bad a state of defence, still we did not despond. We had reason to expect we should not be deserted; and that M. de Montcalm,

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as we had been promised, would come with a Squadron to our assistance."

"Besides so well-grounded an expectation, the council of war considered, that by retarding, as much as possible, the reduction of the place, (upon a supposition that no succours at all arrived) we should retard also the expedition of the enemy against Canada, and even render their design abortive, at least for this year. For this reason we detained five French men of war in the road, though the commodore had asked leave to retire; and we prepared to render our defence at least of some service to our country, if it could be none to ourselves. Besides this resolution, we prayed heartily that the enemy would shew less conduct and bravery in their other enterprizes: so greatly was our tone altered since the misfortune and retreat of admiral Holburne."

"In the mean while, we had left the enemy in possession of some provisions, and arms, and fourteen pieces of cannon, with twelve stone mortars and two fourneaus for red-hot balls, one of which was ready charged.

charged. As our flight could not be effected the directest way, and a great many of us were obliged to make our escape over rocks and morasses, we did not get under the cannon of Louisburg till ten o'clock in the morning. And then we ended this affair, in the same unlucky manner as we began it, with an act of imprudence. By a discharge from our ramparts, the enemy were apprized of the reach of our batteries, when we might very easily have foreseen, that they were at too great a distance to receive any detriment. Thus we regulated the situation of their camp, which accordingly they kept during the whole siege."

"Sir Charles Hardy, who was cruising at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent our receiving any succours, could not hinder a French man of war from passing through his squadron by the help of a thick fog. In vain did admiral Boscawen order this vessel to be chased; it got safe into Louisburg road; so that we had now six ships of the line, and as many frigates. After the junction of Sir Charles Hardy's squa-

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dron to that of admiral Boscawen, occasioned by a sickness on board the fleet, the *Echo*, one of our frigates, ventured to put to sea. She was to sail to Canada, and to run all hazards, in order to apply for speedy assistance: but she was stopped short in her voyage. Admiral Boscawen ordered the *Scarborough* and the *Juno* to give chase to her, and she was taken. In the mean time, some of the enemy's ships had advanced as far as *Loirembec*, with fascines, ammunition, and artillery. The ninth day after the enemy's landing, they pitched their camp within about three hundred fathoms of *Louisburg*. They had likewise posted some troops in the creek of *Cormoran*, and other adjacent parts, in order to prevent the incursions of the savages. There was also another detachment to secure the communication between the camp and the sea-side. The eleven hundred men, under the command of major *Scot*, with three hundred irregulars, were continually beating the rounds in order to prevent any surprize from the savages or Canadians, whom we expected to come to our assistance.

All

All these precautions, however, did not hinder four hundred of the regiment of Cambise, from throwing themselves into the town, after landing at Port Dauphin, nor the men of war that brought them, from getting safe back. In the mean time, Sir Charles Hardy returned to his former station, with a view to block up the harbour, lest our ships of war should take the opportunity of a fog to make their escape.

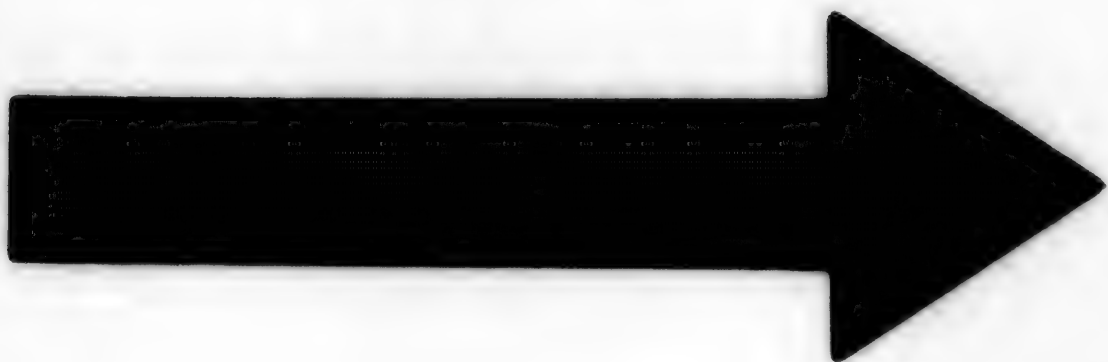
The 11th, whilst the enemy were employed in cutting through rocks and in draining morasses in order to open the necessary passages through the camp; and while our men were endeavouring to repair the fortifications; a serjeant major, and four soldiers of Fischer's regiment of foreign volunteers, deserted to the English. No doubt but they encouraged the enemy's workmen by letting them know our situation, our incapacity of bettering it, and the great despondency of the garrison, who were ready to desert. They likewise told them, that we had destroyed the great battery, together with that of the light-house, and every

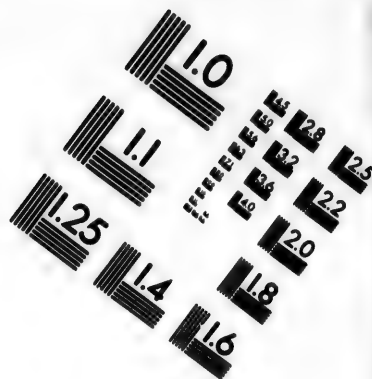
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thing that we could possibly destroy around the town.

Upon this intelligence, major Scot was commanded the next day to put himself at the head of five hundred men, and to make himself master of the light-house battery. He was followed by brigadier general Wolfe, who had under him four companies of grenadiers, and twelve hundred men detached from the lines. They found that the deserters had informed them right, and that we had left only four cannon, and those nailed up. The situation of this post being extremely advantageous to the enemy, as they might easily annoy our ships from thence, and throw bombs upon the island battery, they sent away immediately for a sufficient quantity of artillery and machines. But the impossibility of maintaining this post obliged us to abandon it; for it was more than we could do to guard the batteries and ramparts of the town. Not far from hence there was a little creek, very convenient for landing of provisions and artillery, or any other necessaries; and to complete

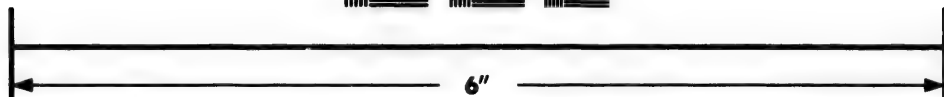
complete their good fortune, on that very same spot they found, in two small camps which we had abandoned, all sorts of provisions, and among the rest, some Lorembec fish and very good wine. True it is, that we had not any reason to be sorry for this last capture. For we had no scarcity at all; nay we could have wished that we had mouths enough to consume our provisions. This plenty was the cause of great waste; and the soldiers were so used to profusion, that they would neither work nor go upon a sally, unless they were half drunk. A person must have been witness to the indulgences, which a commander is obliged to shew to disheartened troops, when there is no longer a possibility of concealing from them, either their own weakness, or the superiority of the enemy; before he can be a judge of the situation we were now reduced to. Honour and glory are the incentives of gentlemen; but as for the common people, when the bounds of fear are once broke through, we must substitute those of interest and





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condescension, though even these do frequently prove insufficient and dangerous to officers who are obliged to have recourse to such an extremity.

As there was a possibility of landing in those places where the English took post, we had erected parapets and palisades in the same manner as at the creek of Cormoran, but had not time to destroy those defences. The English however knew how to apply them to a proper use. Early the next morning, in order to divert the enemy from their works, we sent out a party, who made a feint as if they intended to advance towards general Wolfe: but this officer having received the alarm by a messenger from major Ross, who commanded a detached guard betwixt the camp and town, our men immediately retired, after making a shew as if they had no other intention than to burn a few paltry houses. We could not spare to lose many of our men, and yet we should have been glad to retard the enemy's works. At length we resolved to trust something to fortune, when we saw them all hard at work

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in their great camp, and that they had already raised three redoubts between the right and left of the eminence where they were posted. For which reason three hundred of our men made a sally in open day upon their advanced parties, but were repulsed with loss.

Nothing now remained but to annoy the light-house camp as much as possible from the island battery, which we did with success, till the English judged proper to remove their line to a position out of our reach. True it is, that they acted on this occasion like men of spirit, for their grenadiers continued on this dangerous spot till the next day.

This same 14th we feigned another attack on the right side of major Ross; or rather we should have really attempted it, if a body of troops, much superior to ours, had not come up to his assistance. We towed afterwards a shallop to the mouth of the harbour; and mounted two twenty-four pounders upon it, with a view of annoying Mr. Wolfe's new camp, which was situated

360 *Landing of the English*

near the shore. This shallop cast anchor near the island battery, and after firing her guns for some time, returned to her former situation in the harbour. This operation she renewed several times, which caused more uneasiness than real damage to the enemy. She likewise played upon the two men of war that had drawn near to observe us; but as they returned the fire, six of her men were killed: yet the enemy did not venture to pursue her, because she was covered with ten forty-two pounders on the island battery.

Notwithstanding all we could do from the 14th to the 19th, we had the mortification to see the entrenchments round both the camps of the enemy completed; neither was it in our power to hinder the transporting of the several implements and utensils destined for the siege. It was about this time that the frigate *Echo*, which I mentioned to you before, was taken, and that Sir Charles Hardy's squadron returned to the position, which it had quitted in order to join the admiral.

Yesterday,

Yesterday, the 19th, towards evening, the enemy in the light-house camp opened a battery of cannon and mortars, which played very briskly upon the island battery, and upon the ships till morning. We answered them with the same vivacity, but not with the same advantage, because the situation of the enemy upon an eminence hindered us from doing them any great harm; and besides, they have a good shelter behind the precipices and high grounds. In short, this very morning the light-house battery continued to thunder upon our ships with such fury, that they were obliged to draw six hundred yards nearer the town, which indeed keeps them a little more out of cannon-shot, but at the same time leaves more room for the enemy to approach, and makes it less inconvenient to advance their works, which the fire from our ships had greatly obstructed.

I am very sensible, that upon the receipt of this letter, which I am going to send you by the *Arethusa*, a frigate just ready to sail, you will be under the greatest inquietude:

yet

362 *Landing of the English &c.*

yet what would you say of me, were I to neglect this opportunity of acquainting you with our misfortune? doubtless you would receive the news from others, and would be disobliged with me for leaving you in such an uncertainty in regard to our fate. I promise to continue a faithful narrative of the siege: if the town is taken by storm, this account perhaps will never reach you; but as a good citizen, more than as a soldier, I hope we shall capitulate, when we are no longer able to defend ourselves. In all probability, I shall see you very soon after my next, if I do not bring it myself. In the mean time you will allow, that I was not so much mistaken in predicting and lamenting what has happened; and I had reason to say, that your fatal war on the continent would prove the ruin of this valuable and flourishing colony. What an immense sum it will cost to restore it to its former condition, supposing that the English, who are but too well acquainted with the value of it, should consent to part with it again, or that we should be able to com-
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Siege of Louisburg continued. 363

pel them! What an infatuation, that we should thus neglect a settlement, the preservation of which was of the utmost importance to us; and to neglect it for paltry concerns, no way interesting to us, and in which we are very likely to be duped! Adieu; I should never have done, were I to give a full scope to my lamentations: I shall be imitated in Europe, when it is too late.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R XXIII.

The siege of Louisburg continued. Resistance of the garrison, who are at length obliged to capitulate. Treatment of them and the inhabitants, &c.

S I R,

YOU will not receive my last letter so early as I imagined; neither shall I follow this so soon as I could have wished. The *Aréthusa* tarried here fifteen days longer than I expected; but as she only waited for a favourable opportunity, and was every minute ready to sail, I have not been able to add to my former accounts, the operations that

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that have been carried on during that time. Since this colony has fallen under the dominion of the English, my ailments, and the inquietudes inseparable from our dismal situation, have prevented my embarking for France. Very likely I shall stay here some time longer; thanks to the humanity of our conquerors. And in truth, nothing but their valour can equal their generosity: but my narrative and encomiums shall keep pace together; therefore let us continue to recount the effects of that virtue, for which we have paid so dear; and we shall afterwards come to the other, of which every one of us ought to preserve the most grateful remembrance. I left off, if I am not mistaken, at the recital of a situation, which had revived my expressions of sorrow; and you will now be able to judge whether they were just or not.

The 21st of June, our ships made a most terrible peal upon the light-house battery, which was said to have been somewhat damaged. We fired against the enemy from all sides, as far as our strength, or the

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Siege of Louisburg continued. 369

showers of bombs would permit. All the next day there was a very thick fog, of which the enemy availed themselves to erect an advanced redoubt, betwixt the center of the grand camp and that to the right. By this step it became easier for them to get possession of an eminence, which commanded the part of the camp towards the town, at the distance of about eight hundred yards from the glacis. They likewise erected a battery of six cannon at the lighthouse, in order to silence the island battery, by which they were greatly incommoded. They erected another against our ships; and last of all, they made an epaulement to facilitate their approaches to the town by the eminence. This work was about a quarter of a mile in length, sixty feet wide, and nine deep; consisting of gabions, fascines and earth. Four days were spent in these preparations, and the 25th we experienced their effect. One of the embrasures of the island battery was damaged, so that we could only make use of bombs. This defect was supplied, as
much

366 *Siege of Louisbourg continued.*

much as possible, by our battery of Cape Maurepas, and by the cannon of our ships.

The 26th we resolved to set fire to the enemy's new fort; but those who attempted it, were repulsed without effecting their design.

The 27th, perceiving that the enemy was continually advancing, we redoubled our fire without being able to interrupt the workmen; on the contrary, we ourselves were terribly incommoded by the enemy's bombs. Besides, the admiral extending his vigilance to every part, caused four hundred soldiers to be landed in the creek of Cormoran, a precaution of great use to the besiegers.

Two days after we sunk two frigates and two ships in the narrowest part of the mouth of the harbour; and fastened them together, to the end that if the enemy's ships should attempt to force their way through, there might not be room for above one at a time. During this operation, our frigate *Arethusa* ventured out as far as she could; and her guns extremely incommoded the enemy's

Siege of Louisbourg continued. 357

enemy's workmen. The English returned the fire with the same vivacity; and being impatient to make their approaches, they used all their endeavours to drive our ships back. Matters were thus pretty uniform on both sides during the space of four days.

The 1st of July a detachment of our people sallied out of the wood, and advanced about a mile beyond the pond. Upon which Mr. Wolfe went to meet them with five or six hundred regulars. There was a very brisk skirmish; but at length our men were obliged to retire. This they did in good order, firing all the time upon the enemy, who gained nevertheless two very advantageous eminences, on which they immediately threw up a redoubt. On our side we sunk two frigates more, and left their masts standing above water. The following days the enemy formed their lines, and their light troops defended themselves against the savages, who hovered about the camp in order to pick up any stragglers.

There is no manner of doubt, but notwithstanding the advantages the English had

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had over us, in the valour and ability of their general officers, they were sensible of the arduousness of their enterprize. For our part, the length of our defence had surpassed our expectation; and we could not help sighing, when we considered that it would have been impossible for the enemy to succeed, had we been but upon an equal footing.

Yet as we were determined not to surrender till the last extremity, we made a sally the 8th upon a detachment of workmen, commanded by brigadier general Lawrence. We surprized them by the help of a very dark night: but what could nine hundred men do against the whole van-guard of the enemy, who immediately flew to the assistance of the sappers? We had two captains and a few soldiers killed. The day following we sent a flag of truce, to beg leave to bury the dead.

The 10th, the admiral set two hundred miners to work. In the mean while, we fired chain-shot at them, and made as much noise as possible. The *Arethusa* employed

ployed the time she was hindered from sailing, in such a manner, as made us amends for this involuntary delay. The night of the 11th, we perceived a great fire in the woods, and as it was a signal of the approach of M. des Herbiers with a reinforcement of Canadians and savages, we began to pluck up our spirits. Besides, we knew that as M. de Herbiers piqued himself more for his bravery than for his humanity, there was no doubt of his harassing the enemy as much as possible with the troops, which he would keep hovering about their camp, after he had reinforced the garrison. This same officer had the good fortune to snap up an English soldier that was driving a cart, and being apprized by this fellow of the situation of the enemy's camp, he immediately let us know it, to the end that we might point our batteries accordingly.

The 15th a thick fog arising, the *Arctusa* embraced the opportunity to slip away in the night, and though the enemy used all possible expedition in giving chase to this ship, she got clear off. Yet I am of opinion,

B b

that

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that her departure gave more pleasure to the English than to us.

The 16th Mr. Wolfe made himself master of the post occupied by our piquets, situated within four hundred yards of the west gate; and there he maintained himself in spite of all our fire from our cannon and bombs. A deserter from the camp having informed us where the enemy's magazines lay, we directed our shells in such a manner, as to alarm them greatly. The ensuing days their approaches towards the town were carried on with success, as were also the new batteries, one of which began to play very briskly on the Dauphin bastion, and the west gate.

The 21st proved fatal to us: our ship the *Entreprenant* of sixty-four guns, having been set on fire by a cannon-shot from the enemy, blew up in the middle of the harbour; and in its fall the fire spread itself to two more ships, the *Celebre* and the *Capricieux*, which were both burnt. The other vessels escaped with very great difficulty and risk, being obliged to pass between the enemy's battery,

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battery, and the cannon of the ships on fire, which played upon us as well as upon them. Several of our small craft were burnt; in short it was a night of horror and desolation. The Prudent and the Bienfaisant of sixty-four guns, which had escaped this time, soon after fell a prey to the enemy.

Admiral Boscawen had given orders for each ship under his command to get ready two boats, two pinnaces, and a barge, armed with musquets, bayonets, cutlasses, hatchets, and pistols. These, under the command of the captains La Forey and Balfour, entered the harbour in great silence, on a very dark night. As our batteries and ramparts had been very much damaged these three days; and as the fire of the enemy's small arms made it almost impracticable for us to maintain ourselves on those same ramparts, which we were endeavouring to repair; and lastly, as a breach had been already made in the Dauphin bastion and the west gate; we did not want for work. Besides, we had seen the besiegers bring ladders to the

372 *Siege of Louisburg continued.*

trenches ; and as we apprehended a scalade every moment ; we kept firing continually from our small arms on the ramparts, while the enemy plied us in the same manner without intermission. It is not therefore at all surprizing, that in such confusion and alarm, we did not perceive the boats, which, as I mentioned to you before, slipped into the harbour. Their aim was against the two only ships we had left, and they succeeded. Captain La Forey attacked the Prudent, and captain Balfour the Bienfaisant. The report of the guns made us sensible of our fresh misfortune ; but it was too late. In vain did we direct every battery that was still in a condition to play, against the enemy's boats : we could not hinder the Bienfaisant from being towed close by our walls into the north-east harbour, under the protection of the enemy's batteries ; nor the Prudent, which was aground, from being set on fire.

I must confess, Sir, that this action did as much honour to the English, as damage to us. And, indeed, so long as our ships remained

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remained in the harbour, it would have been difficult for them to make a general assault. Here then was our *coup de grace*. Of this we were convinced the next day by the shocking spectacle before us. We were under the greatest concern to see our harbour desolated, and laid waste: it was covered with the wrecks, as well of those ships that had been burnt, as of those which either we or our enemy had sunk. When we turned our eyes to view the situation of the town, our affliction was heightened. Our batteries were almost ruined, not above twelve pieces of cannon were in a condition to fire, a breach had been rendered practicable, our numbers were greatly reduced, and the redoubling of the enemy's fire had nearly destroyed us. Add to this, no ways and means to repair our losses; no appearance of relief; nay, we had seen the enemy a few days before, seize on two Spanish vessels that were bringing us succours.

In so melancholy a situation, there was nothing left but to capitulate; so that we sus-

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pended our fire, and sent to demand a truce in order to regulate the articles of surrender. We insisted upon terms, far more honourable, and more advantageous, than we had a right to expect; and in case of a refusal, we were resolved to hold out to the last. The officer charged with the proposals of our commandant M. de Dru-court, returned with the following letter from general Amherst.

“ In answer to the proposal received on
 “ the part of your excellency, I have no-
 “ thing further to say, than that his ex-
 “ cellency admiral Boscawen and I have
 “ determined, that our men of war shall
 “ enter the harbour to-morrow, in order
 “ to make a general assault. Your excel-
 “ lency knows full well the situation of the
 “ army and fleet, as well as of the town;
 “ but as admiral Boscawen and myself are
 “ both desirous of avoiding any further
 “ effusion of blood, we give your excel-
 “ lency an hour to determine on the only
 “ capitulation we are willing to grant,
 “ which is to surrender yourselves prisoners

“ of

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"of war, otherwise your excellency must
"be answerable for all the fatal conse-
"quences of so useless a defence."

M. de Drucourt being extremely exasperated at these hard terms, resolved, in a council of war, to defend the town to the last extremity. In consequence of this resolution, he was going to send an answer to the enemy, intimating that he would wait for a general assault; when the commissary, M. Prevost, came and presented a petition to him in behalf of the inhabitants. During this interval an officer had been sent back to Messieurs Boscowen and Amherst, in order to obtain more favourable conditions: but as they persisted in the same answer, nothing further remained but to comply immediately, either with the desire of the officers of the garrison, who were ready to defend themselves to the utmost extremity; or with the petition of the commissary, which, without all manner of doubt, was the most prudent step that could be taken, under our present situation. He laid a very great stress, not upon the

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inutility of the defence, for that was visible; but on the duty of a good citizen in preserving a colony, the ruin of which must be attended with that of all the French possessions in North America. He observed further, that the councils which M. de Drucourt had hitherto called, consisted only of military gentlemen, whose deliberations were intirely directed by the glory of the king's arms, and their own honour; but that these considerations, though of as great weight with himself as with any man whatever, ought to give way to the public welfare, for which he thought they were accountable. In short, that in their present condition, the most heroic valour could be regarded only as an act of desperation.

So solid did these arguments appear, that there was no answering them; so that M. de Drucourt acquiesced, and submitted to the law of the conqueror. The capitulation was soon drawn up, and the articles were as follow.

“ First, the garrison of Louisburg shall

“ sur-

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“ surrender themselves prisoners of war, and
“ be transported to England on board of
“ vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty.

“ Secondly, all the artillery, ammuni-
“ tion, as well as arms of what kind soever,
“ at present in the town and islands of
“ Cape Breton and St. John, shall be con-
“ signed into the hands of commissaries ap-
“ pointed for that purpose, in order to be
“ delivered up to his Britannic majesty.

“ Thirdly, the governor shall give or-
“ ders to the troops in the island of St.
“ John, to surrender to such ships of war
“ as the admiral shall please to send to take
“ them on board.

“ Fourthly, the gate called Dauphin shall
“ be opened to his Britannic majesty's troops
“ by ten o'clock to-morrow morning, and
“ the garrison, as well as those who have
“ borne arms, shall be drawn up to-morrow
“ upon the esplanade, where they shall lay
“ down their arms, colours, and military
“ accoutrements; after which they shall go
“ on board those vessels which are to trans-
“ port them to England.

“ Fifthly,

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“ Fifthly, the same care shall be taken
“ of the sick and wounded in the hospitals,
“ as of the subjects of his Britannic ma-
“ jesty.

“ Sixthly, the merchants and their clerks,
“ that have not borne arms, shall be sent
“ to France, on board such vessels as the
“ admiral shall judge proper to appoint.”

This capitulation was made the 26th of July, and of course after a bloody siege of two months, which we could never have maintained for so long a time, had it not been for those four ships of war, which we were unfortunately obliged to sacrifice.

The day following, at the hour agreed to, major Forqhar took possession of the gate Dauphin at the head of three companies of grenadiers. By noon general Whitmore, who had so greatly contributed to the taking of the place, had the honour due to him of receiving the submission of the garrison in the esplanade. He then caused the arms and colours to be carried off, ordered corps de gardes and sentinels, and in short, acted as governor of Louisburg.

We

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We had only one misfortune more to apprehend; though perhaps this gave no great uneasiness to those silly fools (and many such there were amongst us) who never troubled their heads, either about what is past, or to come. For would you imagine how our officers were employed during the heat of the siege? When they were not upon duty, they assembled together, and gamed so very high, that to see them, one would have thought they were certain of the future inutility of their money. Perhaps it was a mark of courage? I should say so, if a tranquillity during the moment of destruction merited that name; but I am very far from being of this opinion. I could not help censuring the folly of those bold gamesters, whom a single bomb, out of a thousand that fell every day, might have crushed to pieces in the midst of so laudable an occupation. You will tell me, perhaps, that I am going to turn preacher. Not I, indeed; at least I shall give no lecture of morality; but as to an elogium on our conquerors, I hope
you

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you will indulge me in it ; both justice and gratitude demand it of our hands ; and therefore I have only to return to the subject which preceded this digression.

Yes, Sir, we had one misfortune more to apprehend ; viz. that our enemies should on the present occasion copy after our example. They had not forgot the extraordinary barbarities and cruelties, which we had suffered the savages to practise upon them after the taking of Oswego, and Fort Henry William, which had surrendered nevertheless upon a more advantageous capitulation, than that which we had but just concluded. There had not been time enough to efface the memory of that action ; and the continuation of the war had kept up the spirit of just resentment. Besides, though we were conquered, we frequently let fall some expressions that shewed our animosity, and were far from soothing exasperated minds. The evening before the English took possession of the town, we suffered the soldiers to plunder the magazines ; and the priests spent the whole night in marrying all the girls

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girls of that place to the first that would have them, for fear they should fall into the hands of heretics. Besides, the exhausted state of the military chest had raised a suspicion, which was likely to create more ill blood; but notwithstanding all these circumstances, the probity, honour, and humanity of the English chiefs prevailed. Messieurs Boscawen and Amherst, after acting with that spirit of harmony, which is so uncommon in joint commanders, and redounds so greatly to their honour; and after conducting this enterprize with equal valour and ability; shewed themselves possessed of those virtues that form the man of honour, as much as of those that distinguish the hero.

The vigilance of the admiral during the whole time of the siege, his application in search of the proper means to bring it to a happy issue, his judgment in the choice of those means, as appeared most evidently in executing the scheme against our two men of war; his activity, which was not satisfied with the business of the fleet committed to his care, but induced him to come every day

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day to the camp, in order to concert matters with general Amherst; these are objects, which the English will never lose sight of, and which undoubtedly must command the perpetual gratitude of his country. Our acknowledgment is also due to him upon a very just title, though of a different kind; and our esteem is a tribute, which he most richly deserves on both accounts.

To be brief, Sir, no body here can perceive, at least by any personal inconvenience, that we are in a conquered town. The garrison has embarked with as much tranquillity, as if it had been going upon a voyage of pleasure. Every soldier has taken away whatever belonged to him, without suffering the least injustice. M. de Drucourt has received all the honours which a person of his rank deserved. The admiral has shewn all the respects to Madame de Drucourt as were due to her merit: every favour she asked, was granted. True it is, that such behaviour does honour to the discernment of the gentlemen that shewed it. This lady has performed
such

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such exploits during the siege, as must entitle her to a rank among the most illustrious of her sex : for she fired three cannon every day, in order to animate the gunners. After the surrender of the town, she interested herself in behalf of all the unfortunate people that had recourse to her mediation. In this number, M. Maillet de Grandville was a striking instance of the instability of fortune. He left France at the age of seventeen, and arrived at Quebec in very indifferent circumstances. But by his industry and application to business he soon advanced himself in the world, so as to be able to purchase the lordship of Mount Louis, which cost him fourscore thousand livres. But now by the taking of Louisburg, he loses upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand, and is left quite destitute with a numerous family. Yet what have these private losses, you will say, to do with our country in general ? A great deal, I assure you ; though the persons entrusted with the reins of government, seem to act as if these were matters of no concern

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cern at all. Do you imagine, that there will be such numbers henceforward, so ready to quit their country, and to spend their days in incessant toil, when they might pass them agreeably at home; if they find that they are to be stripped of the fruit of all their labour, by a most shameful neglect of our colonies? But this revives my old lamentations; and in all probability you have had enough of that strain already in France: Nothing therefore remains but to let you know, that I propose very soon to have the pleasure of embracing you; if my departure, which depends on my state of health, should be so near at hand as I expect. Yet I fancy you will have another letter before that time. I have contracted a particular intimacy with an Englishman of extraordinary good sense, with whom I have been several times in company. I propose giving you an account of our conversation; and I fancy you will not be displeased to hear what our enemies think in regard to the importance of their conquest; and

Capitulation of Louisbourg. 385

and you will be able thereby to form a better judgment of the reasons we had to be so strenuous, both for the defence, and recovery of that fortress. But I shall conclude with giving you a commission, which, I fancy, will be extremely agreeable to your disposition: this is, to tell our merchants that the enemy have done no injury or violence here at all to people in trade, but have suffered them to dispose of their effects in what manner they pleased; to let our officers know, that the gentlemen of the army have been treated with all the respect and moderation imaginable; to acquaint the common people, that the most humane usage has been shewn to persons of their condition; and lastly, to apprize all our countrymen in general, that if this reverse of fortune should increase their natural antipathy against the English, it furnishes us with another motive to endeavour to get out of their debt; and therefore we ought to embrace the first opportunity of making them a proper return, not so much for the loss we have sustained, as for their humane be-

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haviour to our people. I think, and doubtless you will think so too, that such ought to be the wishes, and such the conduct of a generous mind. Your most &c.

L E T T E R XXIV. and last.

Conversation between an Englishman of merit and the author ; reflexions on the importance of Cape Breton to both powers.

S I R,

I SHOULD not be willing to augment the chagrin, which France must receive from the loss of Cape Breton ; I am sensible, that in general our discourse should be on such topics, as rather give pleasure than uneasiness to those with whom we converse ; and that there are very few, who chuse to think of future difficulties, let this forethought be attended with ever so great an advantage. But I am writing to a friend, who chuses to hear the truth, be it ever so disagreeable ; and to fix his eye on such a point of view, as shall represent the real posture of affairs. I may therefore inform you, that our loss, in all probability, is irreparable. And why

why so? you will reply. Did not the English take Louisburg in the last war? And did not they restore it at the concluding of the peace? I proposed this very question to the Englishman, whom I mentioned to you in my preceding letter, and one day that I pressed him very hard, not so much from any doubt I entertained of his way of thinking upon the subject, as from a glimmering hope, which I would willingly have grounded on the infatuation of our enemies, he gave me the following answer.

You talk, said he, of the restitution which we made to you of these islands in the last war, as if you expected we should observe the like conduct again; but our minds as well as the times are changed. Three motives which, upon signing the peace, appeared very cogent to our government, determined us to agree to that measure. The first was the loss of the battle of Fontenoi, joined to the intestine divisions which you had raised in our country, in order to compel us to make peace; and which you might have revived in good

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earnest, if we had not complied. The second was the expectation of seeing the limits of Acadia settled to our satisfaction, as no explication had been given as yet in regard to this article. The third and last was, that we had but an imperfect idea of the utility of our conquest; and besides, the weak condition of your navy made us very easy in regard to all your projects. These three motives no longer subsist, and in all probability will not return again. The war on the continent does not turn out to your advantage; and you have to contend on that side with generals of too much bravery and skill, to flatter yourselves with any hopes. I am even of opinion, that this continental war will do as much in our favour, as we ourselves shall be able to effect; of this we have a demonstration in the neglect, which France has lately shewn with regard to this colony. The attention of your government is fixed upon Germany; you have almost lost sight of the original quarrel; and we ought to profit by your mistakes, as no doubt but you would profit

profit by ours. And is it possible for us to commit a greater, than to follow your example, and forget our real interests? This would be quitting the substance to run after the shadow; no, let the success be what it will on that side, we shall freely resign your palms, and keep our own. Besides, the universal bent of the nation is against any such design, which might even prove dangerous to those who should venture to propose it. With respect to the artifice you had recourse to, in order to bring about the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, you are too much exhausted to employ it again: the maintaining of three powerful armies is too great an expence for you, to be able to spare any money upon that scheme. And besides, how do you know they could be decoyed again? Do you imagine they would be your tools and dupes a second time? And would they venture to trust you, without a moral certainty of success? But perhaps you will attempt to invade us? Can you think of such an enterprize, with the least probability of success? The hatred

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between the two nations is too strong, for either of them to subdue the other. In case of a foreign invasion, even the stocks and stones would turn soldiers. Such a project has never succeeded, but by means of intestine divisions, either in France or England.

But perhaps we may imagine, that you will resign to us, *bona fide*, all that you had ceded to us already at the treaty of Utrecht. And did not you promise to do so by the last treaty? Surely your former subterfuges must make us sensible of what we are to expect for the future. Besides, so great is the difference between your pretensions and ours, that we have not the least prospect of obtaining any satisfaction, but by means of the longest sword.

In short, we have had time and opportunity to be convinced, at our own cost, of the real value of this colony; to know what it enables you to undertake and execute; consequently, of what value it may be to us: and we own, if ever we should give it up, it would be too late to recover it, when
you

you were better able to defend it by the augmentation of your navy.

You say you will not make peace but upon this condition? Well then, let us see who will be able to hold out the longest. For our part, we entered into the war, only in order to hinder you from ruining our colonies, and from robbing us of those which you had yielded by treaty. And how were you likely to succeed? Cape Breton alone would have enabled you to effect your purpose. By keeping possession of this important conquest, we put an end to the dispute about the limits of Acadia; we confine you within the bounds, which you had prescribed to yourselves; and we deprive you of the power of enlarging and changing them at pleasure. The navigation of the river of St. Lawrence must always be commanded by those who are in possession of Cape Breton. And who ought to be in possession of this island, but they who by the treaty of Utrecht have most territories bordering upon it? Consequently it ought to belong to Great-Britain. But you dispute about your own free gift; and

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for this very reason, we ought not to pique ourselves upon shewing you any act of generosity, as you would soon give us reason to repent it. Ought a peace to deprive us of the fruits of a success, so dearly purchased, and even so necessary for the end we proposed in going to war? Our business is to enlarge our commerce, to secure our colonies, and to protect them from being continually a prey to your invasions, or to the cruelties committed, at your instigation, on the part of the savages. By keeping Louisburg, we shall not be afraid of being molested, or streightened in our colonies, much less of hearing you dispute the legality of our possessions. Neither will you come to disturb us in our fishery, and thereby deprive us of the greatest advantage we can possibly derive from this country. Besides, you will be no longer the sole possessors of the fur-trade; the savages must deal with us; and as soon as they cease to be animated by your instigations, and custom has familiarized the intercourse between them and us, we shall

shall have an end of that periodical desolation with which these provinces are so often afflicted. We are masters of all the coast from Newfoundland to Florida ; and the jealousy you may conceive against our power, will be a lesser evil, both to you and to us, than the vicinity of our colonies, which will be always a source of disputes and quarrels. These are the real, and present advantages accruing from the possession of Cape Breton. With regard to occasional benefits, they are still equally great on our side, if reducing the power of our natural enemy can be reckoned such. And, indeed, if you cease to be masters of Cape Breton, you are intirely driven out of the cod-fishery ; and then, as you lose at the same time your imaginary rights to Acadia, the territories remaining in your possession in North America will be rather a burden than an advantage to you. Louisburg being your staple town, and the center of communication for vessels that come from France, as well as from the West-Indies, your navigation will be in as ruinous a condition as your

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commerce. Beside, this will be striking at your navy, as the fishery alone furnished you with sailors; whereas, you used before to hire them of your neighbours.

At length I interrupted him, with some little acrimony: and so, Sir, you would reduce us to our old possessions in Europe? Is not this what you would be at, and what you desire? Yes, answered the Englishman very coolly, if it depended upon me, and it were possible. But would not you have still enough to make you amends, continued he: are not the productions of your own country preferable to those of our two islands in Europe? Besides, do you look upon the great extent of your dominions, and the beauty of your climate, as nothing? And is not your wine alone an article equivalent to whatever we might acquire in America? Indeed, replied I smiling, we will not sit down contented with this equivalent. I see very plainly, continued I more seriously, that Cape Breton is likely to be the Dunkirk of North America, and that the longest sword will
carry

carry it; yet as after a very long contest, we gained our point in regard to the European Dunkirk, perhaps we may have the same good fortune in respect to the American. You are sensible how greatly it behoves us to run all risks in order to recover it; too sensible indeed to presume we can be ignorant of so important an interest. Hitherto we had supposed, or rather we acted as if we supposed you ignorant of this point; but the more you seem to be convinced of the greatness of our loss, and the more bustle and noise you make about never delivering this place up to us again, the more shall we direct our attention to this object. As to what you mentioned concerning the prejudice it would do us, and the advantage you would reap from it, I have nothing further to add; and even if I thought of any thing that you had omitted, I should take care to conceal my mind. It would not be at all natural for me to strengthen your arguments; but you must allow me to tell you, that things may turn out quite different in the event; neither are your pretensions to

success

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success so just as you imagine. I do not see that the possession of Acadia, even in the extent you give it, ought to include that of Cape Breton. Nay, you did not think so yourselves, since you left us the latter, at a time when perhaps we could not have refused to deliver it up to you. And because we have made you a present, is this any reason we should be stripped of our lawful possessions? Not at all, answered the Englishman; but your attempt to revoke that very present; your insincerity in your promises, and in all your dealings; your obstinacy in reviving the quarrel; and lastly, your artifices in throwing the blame upon us; these are the motives that induced us to enter into a resolution so greatly to your prejudice. It was mere necessity that forced us into this measure, when the whole tenour of your conduct had convinced us of your treacherous designs. But you will not find it so easy a matter, replied I, to put your threats into execution. The several European states that are possessed of foreign colonies, have the same interest to preserve

lance of power in America, as they can possibly have in Europe. The Spaniards and the Dutch will join us, in order to reduce you within proper bounds; besides, you have a country on the continent to ransom; an ally to save; and there we shall be even with you. But you are not as yet in possession of the former, replied the Englishman; neither have you conquered the latter: but I answered this objection before. In regard to the alliance, with which you threaten us, a thousand circumstances may prevent it; and if there was nothing else in our favour, you may depend upon this, that the powers supposed to form such an alliance, are equally divided in their sentiments in regard to both nations, that is, they have the same disinclination to, the same fear, and the same distrust of both. Thus being dubious which side to take, in all probability they will determine to stand neuter, in order to let us weaken each other: and in that case you must allow, that the party which comes off the winner, must by means of his conquests, and other coincident advantages,

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vanities, be enabled to secure his acquisitions, before the storm arising from a combination of powers breaks out. And besides, do not you see that we must absolutely play double or quits; that as we can have neither peace nor rest in our colonies without the possession of Louisburg, we must resolve to keep it, let the consequence be what it will?

The above, Sir, is a specimen of the conferences I had with a man, whose frankness and plain dealing, I am sure would command your esteem. With French vivacity, conversations of this kind would take quite a different turn; most of us would break out into some angry expression; or else would manage the argument with craft and insincerity. I do not say but there are a great many natives of England, who behave in this respect like Frenchmen; for I flatter myself, that they have not all the same coolness and resolution as my honest friend. It is some comfort that every nation hath its weak side; the Englishman is inconstant, and his manner of viewing the same objects frequently arises from such impressions, as would shock him greatly,

greatly; if they had been recommended to him by any other person. To-day he fees nothing equal to the possession of Cape Breton; to-morrow perhaps he will fancy that the value of Minorca rises; and then he will imagine that an exchange of these two islands may be a very proper measure. But let us not depend too much upon such uncertainties; neither let us forget any step that is capable of producing so favourable a disposition in our enemy. The ingenuity of men in regard to expedients, is generally a consequence of the exigencies to which they are reduced: the resource indeed is as precarious, as hope in the utmost distress.

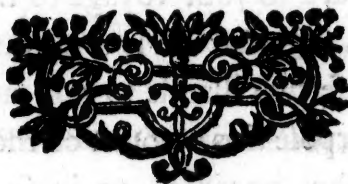
But this word *distress* puts me in mind, that I neglected to administer some consolation to you, for the disappointment you met with in regard to your voyage to this part of the world. Of what use is a minute description of these two islands to you at present; to what purpose this account of the manners of men, who appear to us in so strange a light, and we in as strange to them; to what

end

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end these advices, these instructions upon trade and government ; in a word, all that I have been scralling ? My intention in this epistolary correspondence, was to entertain and improve you ; while perhaps I have only afforded you matter of uneasiness. But this is not the strongest impression you will receive: I know you too well not to be convinced that I shall hear you say, as soon as we have the pleasure of embracing each other : the satisfaction a man of honour feels, in conversing with a friend who is of a generous way of thinking, and who speaks his mind with a strict regard to truth and justice, is a pleasure of so delicate a nature as to absorb every other sensation.

The E N D.



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